DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 223 848 CE 034 387

AUTHOR	Law, Bill
TITLE	Beyond Schooling. A British Analysis of Integrated Programmes of Preparation for Adult and Working Life in the United States.
INSTITUTION	National Inst. for Careers Education and Counselling, London (England).
SPONS AGENCY	Careers Research and Advisory Centre, Cambridge (England).; Hatfield Polytechnic (England).
PUB DATE	82
NOTE	98p.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Career Counseling; *Career Education; Career Guidance; *Community Cooperation; Cooperative Education; *Cooperative Programs; Coordination; *Educational Cooperation; Educational Research; *Education Work Relationship; Experiential Learning; School Community Relationship; Secondary Education
IDENTIFIERS	Experience Based Career Education; United States; Work Education Councils

ABSTRACT

A method for analyzing secondary school programs that integrate community resources into classroom instruction is based on a comparison between programs in the British Isles and in the United States. The study was conducted to determine facilitators and barriers to such integration. Integrated programs were considered to be those in which schools and communities collaborate to prepare students for adult and working life. The descriptive profile of integration developed had five features grouped into two clusters of activities: networking resources (multiplication of resources, coordination of resources, cross-fertilization of resources) and delivering resources (accessibility of the network to students and students' preparation to work in, and their reflection of, the network.) Types of integrated programs studied included community involved placement for educational development, cooperative education, experience-based career education, and education-work councils. Some problems with integrated education were found: competition for resources, abuses of influences, narrow visions, lack of concreteness, failures to achieve credible understandings, and unreadiness to implement. Successful establishment of integrated programs was influenced by (1) coordinators who had broad, flexible authority but limited power; (2) diversity in solving problems; (3) the ability to translate innovative ideas into action; and (4) attention to program development. Applications of the issues raised by the analysis were suggested. (YLB)

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BEYOND SCHOOLING

A British Analysis of Integrated Programmes of Preparation for Adult and Working Life in the United States

Bill Law

(National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling, England)

'Tim was so learned that he could name a horse in nine languages; so ignorant that he bought a cow to ride on.'

Benjamin Franklin

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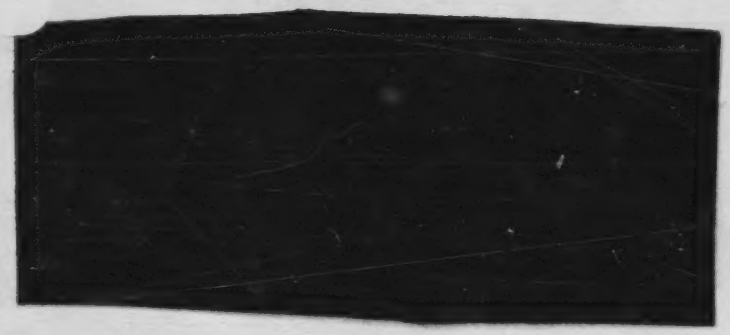

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the following people for helping me to gather information and impressions concerning the programmes reported here: Ginger McCabe and Dennis Sabo of South Brunswick High School, New Jersey; Dr Fred Koury of City as School, New York City; Professors Bill Bingham and Maurice Hartley of the State University of New Jersey, Rutgers; Professors Ed Herr and Fred Welch of Pennsylvania State University; Professor Marty Gerstein of Virginia Polytechnic and State University; Dr Richard Ungerer and Dr Jerry Gold of the National Institute for Work and Learning, Washington DC; and Dr Sandford Temkin and Dr Ron Houston of Research for Better Schools, Philadelphia.

I am grateful also to the Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges, London for raising some of the finance for the trip; and to Professor Bill Bingham and Dean Irene Athey for clinching its financial viability by arranging my visiting lectureship at Rutgers.

America is, of course, 'too numerous to mention'! But in my short tour of New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Washington I was perpetually greeted by an interested, welcoming, people - fizzing with curiosity about their visitor, about his work, about each other and about their future. I am grateful now to be able to think of many of them as friends.

Back home, Pat Webster put the typescript together - the quality of which speaks for itself; I have an even deeper gratitude for her interest in, and commitment to, the work.

But I am also deeply in debt to Bill Bingham who co-ordinated the whole trip and whose generous friendship and colleagueship bind me to so much that I love in America.

Bill Law
August 1982

CONCERNS

This document is concerned with school-community links. That concern stems from a sense of both the limitations and potentialities of schools.

On limitations; schooling by itself does not - probably cannot - help young adults adequately to anticipate and prepare for the roles they will be asked to take beyond schooling. I have not attempted to argue that case at any length; it has already been well-argued by others; in Britain particularly by Bazalgette (1971, 1978).

On potentialities; schools are well-placed in our societies to participate in, and to help students to use, the network of resources in neighbourhood and community which can - and do - help young adults adequately to anticipate and prepare for what comes after school-leaving.

Most secondary schools, in both Britain and America, seek to help students competently to anticipate their futures. In Britain specific programmes have many different titles; including 'Careers Education', 'Careers Guidance', 'Personal and Social Education', 'Preparation for Working Life', and 'Life and Social Skills'. Together, they incorporate part of schools' acknowledgement that schooling is not only about the transmission of a 'known' culture, but that it is also about the anticipation of self in an - as yet - 'unknown' future. The term 'preparation for adult and working life' is used here to refer to that diverse, often diffuse, but nonetheless persistent theme of schooling.

Not all schools collaborate with their neighbourhoods and communities in setting up such programmes. Where - in Britain - they do, the programmes have been referred to as 'integrated'.

But integrated programmes, themselves, come in a variety of shapes and sizes, and even integrated programmes do not necessarily involve collaboration between a school and its community. This document - however - uses descriptions of American experience of integration in that sense; of mobilising community resources, sometimes with the school as co-ordinating influence, sometimes with the school as a participating member in a network co-ordinated outside school.

A concern here is to go beyond the descriptions, into an attempt to understand how and why such programmes get viably established, what resists them and why, and how such resistances are met by those seeking to develop the work. I am interested in understanding how the brakes and accelerators work. Doing that involves developing a method for analysing the programmes. The method - described in the next chapter - is based upon integrated programmes in the British Isles. It was forming in my head before I gathered the information and impression of American programmes set out in this document. My purpose here is to test it, by applying it to parallel programmes in another part of the world. As the reader will see, a result has been that the original analysis has been modified and extended.

The intention throughout is to seek ways of describing, explaining, diagnosing and evaluating integrated programmes of preparation for adult and working life. In that sense, this document is intended to complement the work of people like Bazalgette; by seeing whether and how it is possible for both British and American schools to participate in programmes which use resources beyond schooling to help their students move beyond schooling.

FEATURES

Anyone who has listened to aficionados trying to define what they mean by the term 'jazz' will know what I mean when I say that the language is full of useful words which - nonetheless - defy specific and concrete definition. The vocabulary of education is full of such words.

The term 'integration' is an example. It often refers to the re-arrangement of curriculum, so that formerly separated elements are brought together into a new whole. The intention is that students will learn that the world, which is divided by the boxes on their timetables, is one world. Although the means of integration described in this document extend far beyond the re-assembly of existing curriculum materials into new 'subjects'; the end in view - of helping our students to find that they live in 'one world' - is, as we shall see, much the same; much the same, that is, but capable of considerable elaboration. Like 'jazz' the term 'integration' may prove most useful because it is capable of accepting a richer, but still recognisable, range of meaning than was ever envisaged when it was first coined.

Specific and concrete definition is, therefore, going to be difficult. But I have tried, below, to identify some of the features of integration as they appear in programmes of preparation for adult and working life.

Among the first usages in Britain of the term 'integrated careers guidance' was a description in Schools, Careers and Community (Law and Watts, 1977) of careers work in 'Britewell' School. Britewell used a range of school and neighbourhood resources in order to establish a more diverse basis for preparation for adult and working life than would be possible were the programme left entirely in the hands of a small number of specialist careers educators. The term 'integration' was used to refer to the establishment of a network of contacts with resources in the school, and resources available to it in its neighbourhood, which were used to pursue objectives of preparation for adult and working life.

A basic feature of an integrated programme of preparation for adult and working life is, then:

1. It is intended that help comes from a multiplicity of resources in the school, or available to it.

The range of resources may be relatively narrow, by - for example - being restricted to school resources; or it might be relatively diverse, by - for example - including neighbourhood resources. At least the beginning of integration is occurring where (say) the geography teacher consciously plans to incorporate some study of the local labour economy into her or his classroom work, with the intention that students should thereby gain some appreciation of what is available to them in the working world. Another integrative activity, and one that employs neighbourhood or community resources, is work experience. The Schools Council Industry Project (SCIP) illustrates the first feature of integration by emphasising an 'across the curriculum' approach to preparation for working life, together with the use in schools of what the project calls 'adults other than teachers'.

A publication of the Department of Education and Science, Schools and Working Life (HMSO, 1981) incorporates a number of accounts of programmes showing features of integrated approaches to such work in schools. One of those accounts is of a project in which students and a local firm co-operated in the design and construction of a model leisure complex. A wide range of academic departments in the school were involved, together with the architectural and quantity surveying people in the firm. The project was based on six small teams of students - from the third to the sixth forms - each engaged in one of the project's tasks. Such a programme extends the uses of integration; for we are dealing here not just with multiple resources but with an attempt to put the contribution of each resource in co-ordinated relationship with the rest. A second possible feature of integrated careers guidance programmes is, then:

2. It involves making the contribution of each visible to the whole; so that a co-ordinated programme of activity becomes possible.

Reports of the work of SCIP in particular schools (e.g. Marsh, 1981)

also illustrate this feature - by making it clear that the successful use of such a multiplicity of resources is catalysed by the establishment in the schools of 'study groups' the purpose of which was to share impressions of needs, to exchange information, and to suggest possible curriculum initiatives.

The level of co-ordination may be ad hoc - relying principally on voluntary offers from partners, and the exchange of information about their initiatives; or it may be systematic - relying on careful advanced planning, and the active recruitment of help into a programme designed to have a high degree of cohesiveness and completeness.

Reports of the work of the SCIP study groups also suggest that they not only co-ordinate the resources of a network of contacts in and around the school, but they lead to the possibility of what happens in one part of the network influencing what happens in other parts. Contact between people changes people's minds.

And so the possibility of a third feature of integrated programme hoves into view. It is that:

3. It involves cross-fertilisation among partners in the resource network.

The DES publication Schools and Working Life further illustrates the feature. One of the schools described arranged for almost all of its teachers to visit at least one local firm for at least half a day. Among the consequences of those contacts was that part of the school's third year science and home economics courses were infused with experimental work, based on processes used in local industries. Another consequence was that a local industrialist - in co-operation with the teachers - was able to rate the relevance of the school's examination courses to the selection criteria of local recruitment managers, with the intention of alerting both the teachers and the managers to the connection between what happens at school and what happens in the labour market. As a result of these discussions the school developed a profiling system for each student - based on knowledge of employers' needs for information about students.

In such a situation the process of cross-fertilisation is open; but in other cases participants in the resource network might prefer to remain closed against such influences, and - while contributing to the whole - remain unaffected by what is happening elsewhere. (Of course, being open doesn't mean changing everything to suit partners, it means simply being prepared to entertain the possibility that a cross-fertilised idea might be better than a parthenogenetic one!)

The school described in School and Working Life went further than just allowing itself to be influenced by its contacts with the local labour economy. It was also made clear to students that there were, scattered throughout the school, teachers who, because they had been on attachments in the working world, were able to act as reference points for information about particular firms and able to set up further contacts for those students in those firms. Furthermore the profiles on students developed in the school were made the subject of discussion with the students they concerned. In both cases a further feature for integration becomes identifiable:

4. It makes the resources of the network directly accessible to students in schools.

The feature is further illustrated by part of the City of Coventry's response to the trauma of its labour economy (Temple and Sanday, 1981). The intention is to make schools available to all young adults up to the age of 19; so that the schools' knowledge of provisions in the city can be made available to young adults dealing with the consequences of a severely contracted local labour economy. With the help of the Careers Service, schools have been asked to provide an information and counselling service to young adults - letting them know, for example, where they can find further training or community service opportunities in the city.

Such accessibility may be proximate or distant; depending on how easy it is for students to reach the 'gates' to the network, or upon how ready they are to use those gates.

One further feature of integration may be identified, illustrated by many of the examples given above; but particularly represented also in the Shannon Project of Interventions for Relevant Adolescent Learning (SPIRAL) in Ireland (SPIRAL, 1980). The SPIRAL project implements a number of features of integration: using neighbourhood visits and placements for young people approaching school leaving age; establishing visibility and co-ordination of that network through local liaison groups; and cross-fertilizing the thinking of schools with the contributions of employers, parents, teachers and others. But a central component in the project's work is the use of people and materials in the school in a planful attempt to help students prepare themselves for and reflect upon, the experiences that they encounter in their visits and placements. The feature for integration identified by this activity is:

5. That it involves offering students an active opportunity to prepare themselves for and to reflect upon the experience which the network of resources affords them.

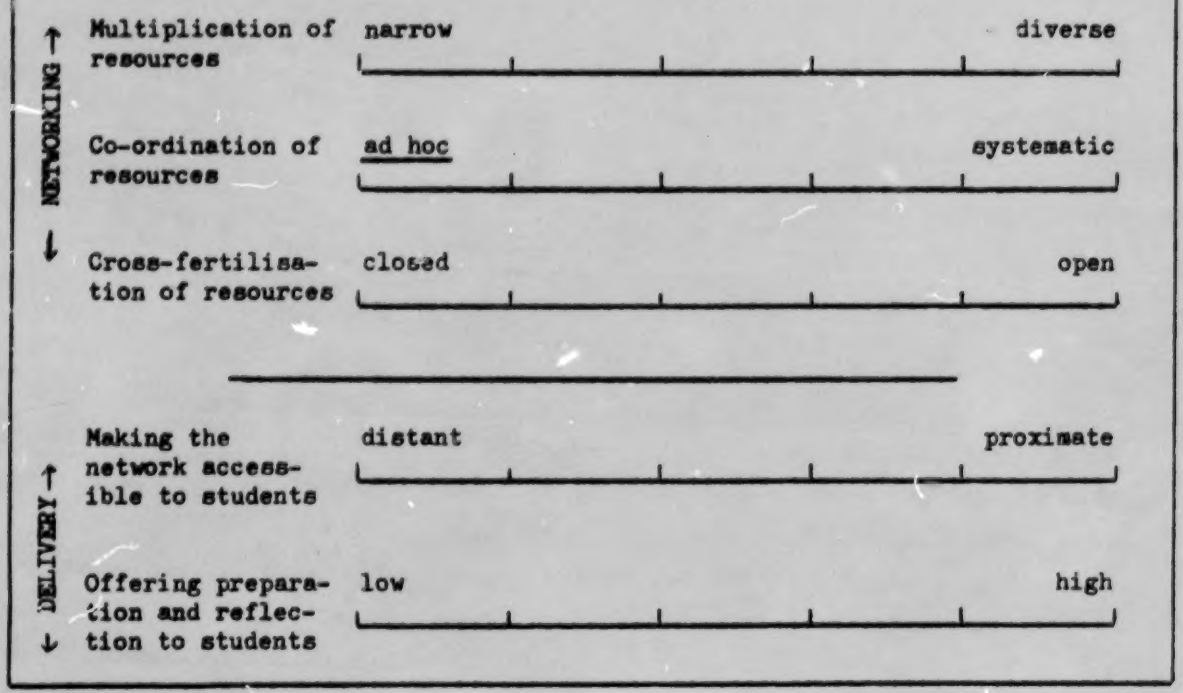
The feature is illustrated in a wide variety of ways; it has long been argued that such schemes as work experience placements and careers conventions (Americans call them 'career fairs') are seriously weakened in their impact upon the learning of young people where no opportunity is given to students to anticipate what they want from such experiences, or to follow them up with opportunities to identify what they have gained from them.

The level of preparation and reflection afforded to students may be low or high; depending upon the amount of time and energy that is invested in them, the quality of the materials and resources which support them, and the level of participation which is permitted to students in their use.

The identification of these five features of integrated programmes in the British Isles makes possible a descriptive profile of integration for any programme of preparation for adult and working life in any school. Figure 1 sets it out.

Figure 1

PROFILES OF INTEGRATION



The five features can be sub-divided into two clusters of activity; those concerning networking resources and those concerning delivering resources.

Together they bear the same kind of relationship to the term 'integration' as features of 'syncopation', 'extemporisation' and 'voicing' bear to the term 'jazz'; they are not sufficient, necessary nor even exclusive to it. But they do help the 'hip' to know where it's at!

PROGRAMMES

Although integration is hard to define; its features are not so hard to recognise. The programmes of preparation for adult and working life described below have been selected because they seem to have such features. They range from local and piece-meal initiatives to broadly-conceived nationwide programmes.

This section is restricted to describing the main features of the programmes and how they are supported. Further explanation, analysis and comment on the programmes appear in later sections.

Community Involved Placement for Educational Development (CIPED)
All students in the last 3 years of secondary schooling at South Brunswick High School, New Jersey, spend one day each week on year-long placements in employers' premises, social service agencies or outdoor (such as nature conservancy) programmes. CIPED is unique to the school, and was developed there without outside consultation or funding. The programme is run by a team of specially-appointed full-time co-ordinators whose work is to locate usable sites for placement, and to link students with them in a 3-year sequence of placements. In collaboration with the school counsellors, the co-ordinators use class time one day each week during the first 6 months at High School to prepare students for their involvement in placements. Individualised programmes of placement are then designed. They are developmentally arranged; characteristically beginning with opportunities to participate in outdoor pursuits, and ending with career-related placements. Students earn school-leaving qualifications from such placements, although no attempt is made to rate the quality of their performance on the sites or their learning from them; credits are awarded solely on satisfactory attendance.

The Parkway Project and City-as-School
Activities. A group of Philadelphia high school students visit senior citizens' homes and listen to eye-witness accounts of how those people were involved in the stories of immigration into the United States, the second world war and the development of labour unions. A Philadelphia photographer designs a course in photography for a handful of high school

youngsters who come not only to listen to how its done, but to see where - and with whom - it is done. Voluntary community workers in the city conduct group discussions with high school students in their offices and consulting rooms on such topics as planned parenthood and drug abuse. A Philadelphia bank offers a course in its own premises on Real Estate. Students in the programme also learn from time spent in hospitals, university offices, workshops and a number of cultural institutions.

All these opportunities were, for a time, available to students enrolled in Philadelphia's Parkway Project; a high school with no traditional school buildings which once offered more than half its curriculum by using such community resources.

Students on the Parkway Project gain school-leaving qualifications from their participation in the programme. Some students achieved high school graduation in 3 years.

City-as-School (CaS) in New York, acknowledges its debt to the Parkway Project. Like the Parkway Project, CaS uses the community as a resource for transmitting the known culture of American society. But, also like Parkway, the use of community resources incorporates rich opportunities for each student to anticipate and prepare for his or her own participation in adult and working life.

Students at the school help to run a riding academy, prepare exhibitions for museums, help at the Federal Trades Commission, work with artists and craftsmen in their studios, accompany politicians in their handling of constituency problems, work backstage and front-of-house on off-Broadway theatre groups, help on one of Brooklyn's weekly newspapers, attend classes (free of charge) in one of New York's higher education campuses, and act as assistant registrars to CaS - helping newcomers find their feet.

It is estimated that around 95% of the learning experiences offered to CaS students is offered by the 400 community-based 'resources' listed in its catalogue. Students attend a resource for 9 or 18 weeks. Completion sometimes involves evening and weekend work - by students and their teachers.

Students at CaS earn school-leaving qualifications from participation in the programme. No grades are awarded; a student either receives credit or no credit for the general satisfactoriness of the completion of each placement. Credits might be awarded in English or basic composition; but they might also be awarded in journalism or tv production; the credit might be in American Studies, but it might be achieved by accompanying a congressman to find out how he serves his constituency. The credit might be in social studies, but it might be achieved by helping to build a replica of a colonial sawmill at the Richmond Restoration on Staten Island. Students log their participation in the cycles, write reports for consideration by student advisors in school, and are assessed by people they meet in their community placements. Decisions about credits are then made in the school on the basis of this evidence.

Support. The Parkway Project was the brain child of Clifford Brenner an official of the Philadelphia School Board whose office, in 1969, looked out on the Benjamin Franklin Parkway - a mile-long boulevard lined with most of the city's museums, art galleries and cultural institutions. The original conception was of such a resource as a substitute for a school campus.

The project is sited in five different units scattered throughout the city, much of the space is donated free-of-rent by the community. Each unit provides a base for 200 students, and office space for the 10 teachers and leader assigned to them. Additional classroom space is available on other sites. At the peak of its community involvement between 70 and 80% of classroom space was donated by the community.

The staff teachers divide their time between four activities:

1. classroom teaching work (which, typically, includes work on basic skills and background discussion, and guidance for reading, concerning placements);

2. student counselling (which typically pays attention to the individualised use that students are able to make of their placements);

3. administrative work (which includes the tasks of identifying and developing placement sites for students to use); and

4. tutorial work which provides a developed 'home room' base for groups of between 15 and 19 students from 9 to 12 grade. Tutor groups meet twice each week and incorporate opportunities to evaluate past progress, and select further courses of study - paying attention to needed courses for school-leaving qualification.

This work of staff teachers is interleaved with the work of voluntary and unpaid community teachers, like the senior citizens and the photographer mentioned earlier. The selection and support of such community teachers is regarded as critical; and staff teachers spend time helping them to develop their material and to adequately present it to the students.

In CaS, what the Parkway Project calls staff teachers have two distinct roles occupied by different members of staff. Resource co-ordinators:

1. identify community based 'resources';
2. work with members of the community to convince them of the value of their contribution to the rising generation's education;
3. help them to develop curricula and learning strategies for the students;
4. link students to those resources in individual planning; and
5. monitor students' progress through the programme.

There is a strong insistence from CaS that the resources are obligated to help the students learn something and not just use them as a source of free labour.

The work of student advisors is to:

6. select students for the CaS programme;
7. set up orientation programmes for new students;
8. set up subject seminars for existing students;
9. maintain individualised records on students' progress through the programme; and

10. offer counselling and guidance to assist students make good use of the programme.

What the Parkway Project calls 'community teachers' are designated 'community resource people' at CaS. CaS insists that community resource people are in sympathy with the philosophy of the programme and that they must be prepared to work with resource co-ordinators on the development of an adequate programme of learning experiences. There is also an awareness, in selecting community resource people, that they will not only be sources of knowledge and information to the students, but may also become role-models.

The concept of community resources for learning is assiduously held to at CaS. Before entering the school a student must have completed two years of maths and science at high school, because those subjects are most difficult to duplicate in the network.

Co-operative Education Activities. Co-operative Education (CE) in the United States includes provisions for work by secondary school students in distributive, health, agriculture, business, home economic and industrial occupations. In many ways it most closely parallels British sandwich courses. Among the similarities are the facts that CE places students in vocational training for work requiring performance at some qualified level of skill, and students are paid by employers for the work they do while on such placements. But there are differences: among them the fact that the American programmes pay attention to aspects of educational, vocational and personal guidance as well as to vocational training; this, and the fact that CE is a feature of secondary school provision as well as further and higher education provision, give it some parallels with British work experience programmes. They are included, therefore, in that cluster of schooling activities here called programmes of preparation for adult and working life.

There are two types of CE programme at secondary level. The 'Capstone' programme gives a student a year-long programme of industrial experience, during the last two years of high school, at the place in her or his timetable which would otherwise have been occupied by some related class

study based in school. Students may spend up to one half of each school day on such attachments. It is linked to a special school-based programme of group preparation and follow-up, a particular focus of the approach is to examine the consequences for work processes of new technology and equipment which may not be available in the school. The 'Diversified Occupations' programme, which may occupy up to 2 years of part-time placements, is not usually accompanied by school-based group preparation and follow-up; the principal purpose of the programme being to bring students to a job-entry level of competence in its skills, and to provide them with a range of occupational experiences as a basis for personal choice. Any preparation and follow-up available in school will, therefore, be individual.

There are variations on the CE theme, extending to 3-4 year programmes for potential drop-outs, 1-2 year programmes for socially disadvantaged or physically handicapped students, and sheltered programmes for emotionally and psychologically vulnerable students.

Support. The history of CE in the US dates from 1906, when the University of Cincinnati arranged for engineering students to gain practical experience in industry by placing them with employers, before graduation. In the 1960's federal funding, which has since been withdrawn, fostered considerable growth in programmes of CE, particularly at the secondary level.

While most American high schools now incorporate some kind of off-site work-study element into their programmes, a characterising feature of CE is its design feature of central co-ordination. The Division of Occupational and Vocational Studies at Pennsylvania State University recommends that each of the 600 or so participating schools in the State appoints at least one co-ordinator; and that each co-ordinator is released for 30 minutes each week for each student on the programme. A co-ordinator with 60 students on a programme could be involved in the work full-time. Some schools have more than one co-ordinator. The work of co-ordinators is very broadly conceived. It includes:

1. survey community and students' needs;

2. establish and run an advisory committee (with representatives from all interested groups in the education service and the community);

3. identify and negotiate suitable placement sites;

4. select students for the programme;

5. counsel them at various stages through the programme;

6. carry out the logistical and administrative tasks of linking students to placements;

7. teach some of the school-based courses supporting the programme (particularly on such personal and social work-life topics as dealing with supervision and negotiating a salary increase);

8. evaluate student performance in the programme, and the performance of the programme as a whole; and

9. (very importantly in the conception of the role used at Penn State) engage in a thorough public relations job on behalf of the programme - with the school, labour unions, parents, employers and any other audiences that might be thought to have an interest in its work or an influence on its survival.

Experience-Based Career Education (EBCE)

Activities. In schools all over the United States senior high school students are spending something like a day a week in programmes which take them into out-of-school settings, from which it is intended they will learn something of use to them in their career development. For example in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Olney High School has developed such a programme in collaboration with an organisation called 'Research for Better Schools'. The school has identified forty-six sites, spread across 17 clusters of occupations in a catalogue - ranging from 'Allied Health' and 'Animal Resources', through 'Construction' and 'Law and Justice', to 'Trades' and 'Transportation'. Under the entry headed 'Continuing Education' students find an opportunity to spend three days at Pierce Junior College where they are given a chance to find out something about the college's two-year programmes, and also to learn something about the work of the admissions office, registrar's office, the placement service section and other activities of the college. They spend some of their time touring, some listening

to presentations, some discussing problems encountered by the various offices of the college, and some participating in round-table discussion with students at the college. Here, as elsewhere in the catalogue, clear reference is made to the requirements of the site regarding such matters as behaviour and dress. And it is hard to imagine how visitors to such a site can avoid absorbing these, and many of the other formal and informal cues which cannot be adequately conveyed except through being there; and yet which contribute significantly to the acceptability to and of an envisaged working and living environment.

Support. Research for Better Schools (RBS) in Philadelphia is one of four regional educational laboratories mandated by the National Institute of Education in Washington to develop EBCE concepts and practices. The others are the Appalachia Educational Laboratory in West Virginia, the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development in California, and the North West Regional Educational Laboratory in Oregon. All four laboratories are seeking to develop the concept of EBCE as an individualised use of community resources for facilitating career development; and all four are developing the procedures and materials needed to implement such programmes.

The EBCE model developed at RBS has four programme components:

1. exploratory use of community sites by groups of students on mini-courses;
2. specialist use of community sites for in-depth project work by individual students;
3. career guidance in small groups on such issues as decision-making; and
4. academic resource centres in which programmed learning is offered in basic skills of numeracy and literacy.

Students earn school-leaving qualifications from their participation in the programme, but in order to gain them they must show evidence of career development, and benefit from career guidance as well as basic skill development.

RBS first tested its model for EBCE in a Philadelphia private school. The model was later adopted by a Philadelphia public school where, for

a time, RBS staffed the operation. RBS now disseminates information about EBCE throughout the mid-Atlantic states. Where schools respond RBS first consults with the school on the concepts and practices of the programme, drawing particular attention to its resource implications for the school. At the implementation stage RBS works with school staff assigned to the programme helping them to relate its components to their objectives.

Education-Work Councils

Activities. In Oakland, California a group of local people survey 138 different groups offering career education services but having little co-ordination with each other. The group prepare a directory and distribute it throughout the community. Another group in Enfield, Connecticut survey the interests and aspirations of high school students. School superintendents use the results to draft a proposed strategy for career and vocational education in their districts' schools. A group in Buffalo, New York initiate a long-term project to collect and disseminate co-ordinated information on educational and vocational opportunities and labour economic trends in the city. In Erie, Pennsylvania a local group has investigated local labour laws which have made employers cautious about employing young workers. They have published a guide which includes information on the law's requirements, as well as on wage rates and terms of employment offered to young workers, and where and how young workers can be recruited.

Such groups have raised material resources for their activities from membership dues, fees earned from services offered in the community, tax allocations from local governments, grants from federal and state funds, corporate donations, foundation grants and the rent-free donation of working spaces and materials.

Some, like the one in Bayamon, Puerto Rico have offered seminars on occupational counselling for high school teachers and counsellors, together with a series of exchanges between teachers and business people on how business and industry contribute to the school-to-work transition. In Bridgeport, Connecticut the group has enlisted the help of 25 companies in an eight-week programme to help 30 counsellors, school administrators and teachers understand work opportunities and requirements in the area. Many such opportunities were found to be capable of development as

experience-based learning sites with which schools might collaborate. A group in Worcester, Massachusetts is working out the details of a policy to provide every high school student with an experience-based learning opportunity.

The group in Worcester comprises school superintendents, the chief executive of city government, the manager of a paper mill, a Chamber of Commerce member, a member of the city council, owners of small businesses, an official from one of the area's largest factories, a priest, the Director of Social Services, an official of the Teamsters' Union, and an official of the municipal employee's union. This group, like all the others mentioned above, are generically referred to as Education-Work Councils (EWCs). Memberships range between 25 and 60 persons.

Such councils do not restrict themselves to the interests of the school-to-work transition. Some are also interested in working on problems associated with helping workers whose skills have become obsolete, women seeking to re-enter the workforce, and elderly people who need to supplement pensions.

Support. The concept of EWC is argued in a book prepared, in consultation with others, by Willard Wirtz - The Boundless Resource (Wirtz, 1975). His conception was of EWCs which 'relying on local community initiative, would ferry people and ideas across the gap between education and employment and at the same time infuse the coming-of-age process with knowledge and experience available from the broader community.' He envisaged that EWCs would typically comprise teachers and administrators, employers, representatives of organised labour, representatives of manpower agencies, parents, civic leaders and students. He proposed an outline agenda for consideration by such councils. It included:

1. the attempt to identify manpower needs and career prospects in communities;

2. the rigorous examination of the separation between the guidance (allocating) role of Employment Services and the counselling (helping) role of school counselling services, and the attempt to clarify and place such institutional responsibilities;

3. the infusion of school curriculums with material taken from the community's knowledge of its own working life;

4. the identification, development and synthesis of a variety of experience-based learning opportunities for school students;

5. the rigorous examination of the rationale for, and provision of, a 'considered break' as a stepping stone for students between high school-leaving and employment or re-entry to full-time education; and

6. (perhaps most basically) 'removing barriers' between the worlds of schooling and working which, he argued, had 'gotten out of kilter' - for example on the issue of the relevance of school-leaving qualifications to the world of work.

The National Institute for Work and Learning (NIWL), in Washington DC, was formerly the National Manpower Institute. The institute was first established by a group of business leaders, academic administrators and others seeking to bridge the gap between education and work. Wirtz is currently Chairman to NIWL's Board of Trustees. Part of the institute's varied programme of activities now includes involvement in EWCs.

The involvement dates back to 1976 when NIWL received funding from the US Department of Labour for a five-year project to assist in the development of state and local councils. Existing initiatives were surveyed by NIWL staff and a diverse group of 32 councils were selected for inclusion in the project. The project helped in three main ways:

1. it provided technical assistance in the form of consultation and workshops;

2. it cross-fertilised the activities of the groups by publishing a twice-monthly Work-Education Bulletin and by holding regional and national conferences; and

3. it was able to allocate federal money to councils so that full-time executive staff could be employed by them.

The project led to the formation, in 1979, of the National Work-Education Consortium which recruits individual and council membership. NIWL sponsors the consortium and maintains the kinds of assistance developed by the original project, although it is not now able to offer financial assistance.

It has, however, developed a programme of enquiry into the work, problems and facilitation of councils which is being published in a series of documents including:

4. a review of the literature;
5. a directory of councils;
6. a handbook and state-of-the-art report.

It is, of course, very tempting to assign such outfits as South Brunswick High School, City-as-School, Olney High School and the Oakland Education-Work Council to positions on the profile in Figure 1 on page 9. Each programme is concerned with one or more of the features of integration identified there.

Some, like the Oakland Education Work Council, may prove to be more concerned with the networking operations of achieving a multiplicity of resources, co-ordinating them and getting some cross fertilisation running between them.

Others, like Olney High School, may prove to be deeper into delivering those resources to students, by making them accessible to students and by providing students with adequate opportunities to prepare themselves for and reflect upon the experience which such networks afford.

Some, like City-as-School, appear to be working on tasks associated with both clusters of features.

My concern here is not to give the programmes carefully graded rounds of applause for their work; but to try to understand how such programmes become possible as educational innovations; and - in particular - to understand what resists them.

So that is where we turn next.

RESISTANCES

The innovative process is never plain sailing; it is, perhaps, less plain on the sea of schooling than elsewhere.

Some mapping of the hazards has been done; for example in Fullan's (1972) analyses of the most commonly-reported problems accounting for the failure of educational innovation in western cultures such as the UK and the US.

Figure 2 sets out some of the correspondences between those analyses and features of integrated programmes described here. The correspondences are, of course, not exact; nor are they exhaustive of all possible resistances to integration.

Figure 2

RESISTANCES TO FEATURES OF INTEGRATION

	Feature	Commonly-reported problems for educational innovation
NETWORKING	Multiplication of resources	unsuccessful competition for resources
	Co-ordination of resources	abuses of influence
	Cross-fertilisation of resources	narrow visions
DELIVERY	Making the network accessible to students	lack of concreteness in suggested innovation
	Offering preparation and reflection to students	

Competition for Resources

Part of Fullan's diagnosis of innovative failure comes from evidence that innovation calls upon considerable additional commitments of time and materials in planning, developing and resourcing programmes; and that 'any organisation requires some resource slack as part and parcel of its on-going activities if it is to be innovative'. Initiating or pump-priming commitment is, moreover, insufficient; programmes run into residual and unanticipated problems requiring supportive follow-up for some time after the innovation has been made. Investment at the initiating or follow-up has not always been equal to the demands of the task. And, both in the

UK and the US, cut-backs in public expenditure are not making life any easier.

Abuses of Influences

Another part of Fullan's diagnosis of failure is to be found in the extent to which innovations have left users of innovation 'as dependent on the process instead of the process being dependent on them'. Fullan identifies two ways in which users of innovation may be rendered helpless. In what he calls 'top-down' innovation they are assumed to be helpless by the handing down of ready-made packages which are thought to be beyond improvement by the suggestions and modifications of the users. In what he calls 'permissive' innovation users are rendered helpless by a failure to provide sufficient guidelines concerning the possibility for their participation. In neither case are users offered an opportunity to gain leverage on the idea of the innovation and how it might be implemented in their particular situation, and with their resources. As one informant to this present study observed 'we do little to help teachers get beyond or behind the principles - or principals - which govern their work; they feel powerless.'

Narrow Visions

A number of informants in the present study have - in a variety of contexts - referred to what one called the 'tunnel vision' syndrome. It refers to repeated observations of the fact that people will generally prefer to stay inside the perspectives with which they have become familiar - particularly in changing, stressful or threatening circumstances. The inability or unwillingness to step outside conventional professional perspectives is institutionalised - according to a number of informants - by American teaching unions, who are on record as opposing some of the programmes on the grounds that they will undermine the position of teachers in society or that they involve disturbance to previously agreed lines of accountability and control. Innovation is resisted by habitual thinking habits; as Fullan records, innovation sometimes involves unlearning, as well as learning.

Lack of Concreteness

Fullan's battery of diagnoses includes the suggestion that innovations sometimes fail to say in the detail of roles and operations how the innovation is to be implemented. As one informant in this study observed; 'the first question that a teacher will often ask following the presentation of ideas in a new state or school district policy is "tell me what I have got to do?"'. It may be a too-narrow response; but it acknowledges the fact that good ideas are not enough - they must be made operational. While Fullan does not advocate a prescriptive telling-them-exactly-what-to-do-model for innovative action in schools, he does point out that the innovation needs to be related to 'an elaborate existing system of relationships to other roles, expectations, rules, and forms of organisation'. Effective innovation must not leave potential users in a sink-or-swim situation with a mere idea, with no practical guidelines about how to keep both themselves and the idea afloat, and no attempt to follow-up on its initial or pilot implementation.

Responses to problems among the projects - considered in the next section - identify two other possible resistances to integrative innovation. They are the problems of promoting a credible understanding of the ideas and principles embodied in innovation; and of achieving a continuing implementation of the innovation - beyond the first flush of enthusiasm - as a development.

Failures to Achieve Credible Understandings

In his analysis of attempt at diagnoses for the failure of educational innovation, Fullan drew attention to evidence that the users of innovations frequently did not understand the ideas and principles underlying what was being proposed, so that they could not explain in any specific way the key aspect of the innovation. Fullan attributes this failure to a lack of preparatory opportunity given to the users to react to what is being suggested and to examine its meaning for their work. But the roots of the problem may reacher deeper than that. It is worth remembering that we are dealing with the need to communicate knowledge and understanding in organisations whose stock-in-trade is knowledge and understanding: teachers are supposed to 'know'. It may be extremely difficult for a teacher to admit that he or she cannot understand the ideas and principles underlying what is being proposed. We have, moreover,

both in the UK and the US, bred cohorts of teachers who can justifiably claim to be heartily sick of innovation in education. The 'Oh-my-God-not-another-innovation' syndrome has had every chance to take root in the psychology of the profession; and it is exacerbated by what one informant in the US characterised as 'instant experts with no more authority than sellers of snake oil'. Teachers may well be unwilling to be taken back to 'ground zero' yet again; to discard what they have been doing in order to adopt what yet another (self-styled) 'expert' is telling them they must do.

Unreadiness to Implement

In a later attempt to disentangle problems for the implementation of education innovations Fullan and a colleague (Fullan and Pomfret, 1977) point out that - in describing innovation - implementation is best understood as being quite distinct from adoptions and outcomes. They complain that 'there is a singular lack of curiosity about what happened to an innovation between the time it was designed and various people agreed to carry it out, and the time that the consequences became evident. Once an innovation was planned and adopted, interest tended to shift toward the monitoring of outcomes.' But the shift from drawing board to classroom is a problem. There is a great deal to understand about how people change, over time, their ways of behaving in their roles in the innovative process.

Figure 3 sets out the relationships between the features of integration, possible resistances to innovation which may be associated with those features, and the characterisation given in the next section to ways in which the programmes have responded to those resistances.

Figure 3

FEATURES, RESISTANCES AND RESPONSES FOR INTEGRATIVE INNOVATION

	Features	Resistances	Responses
	All	Failure to achieve credible understandings	Rationales
NETWORKING	Multiplication of resources	Competition for resources	Results
NETWORKING	Co-ordination of resources	Abuses of influence	Influences
NETWORKING	Cross-fertilisation of resources	Narrow visions	Diversifications
DELIVERY	Making the network accessible to students Offering preparation and reflection to students	Lack of concreteness in suggested innovation	Actions
	All	Unreadiness to implement	Developments

The universe is, of course, not nearly as tidy as analysts need it to be in order to begin talking about it. The linkages and barriers between causes and effects, occasions and responses, are subtle and overlapping. I hope that the reader will notice that some of the report and comment in the ensuing sections could have been assembled under other headings: and I make no apology for it; the analysis should not be so much tidier than the reality! That which reality joins together, analysis should not put asunder!

Report and Interpolation

Each of the ensuing sections begins with some attempt to analytically report what participants in the programmes are thinking and doing about each of the issues raised. But each section also incorporates an attempt to infuse new ideas into the discussion; the purpose being

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to see to what extent those ideas can interpret the experience and point possible ways forward. In order to clearly mark the differences between report and interpolation I have boxed the interpolation sections, like this.

RATIONALES

When innovation peters out it is sometimes, Fullan demonstrates, because the people invited to adopt the innovative idea have not been given sufficient opportunity to grasp the ideas and principles underpinning it; or - indeed - that they have grasped them but give them no credibility. American arguments underpinning integrative programmes is set out here in two sections: 1. concerning networking resources; and 2. concerning delivering experience-based learning opportunities to students.

Arguments for Collaborative Networks

'A good deal of the American achievement traces in one way or another to the development of Education and Work as co-ordinate forces'; so begins Wirtz (1975) in the development of his major premise. It is a variation on an integrated 'one world' theme; this variation arguing that the worlds of work and schooling, are - at root - part of a single enterprise. Any separation between them is unnecessarily and destructively arbitrary; for 'virtually every community in the country has an untapped reservoir of personnel and information that could make both vocational guidance and job placement effective for young people'.

The minor premise of the argument is that American society has permitted arbitrary separations between schooling and work to occur. There is an arbitrary institutional separation, identified by the phrase 'the gap between the schoolroom and the job', and referring to the fact that what is talked about in schools bears little relevance to what is happening in the world of work - particularly, a world of work staggering under the impact of technological, social and economic change.

Wirtz also identifies an arbitrary temporal separation between schooling and work; for, he argues, we have put 'life into three time-traps - education, then work, then obsolescence ... a human convention that became reality because it first became custom'. While once arguably necessary, the separation of education and work into socially-defined phases has become 'a frustrating and expensive anachronism'. Much of Wirtz' argument for the re-integration of work and learning is in pursuit of programmes of what the British are now calling 'return and learn' schemes.

But the main conclusion of such argument is - says Wirtz - for the establishment, not so much of particular programmes, but for a genuinely school and work collaborative process whereby all kinds of programmes might be developed. The distinction between 'collaboration' and 'co-operation' is significant. The term co-operation readily lends itself to programme development in which objectives are defined by one partner, and help in the pursuit of the objectives is sought from another - unequal - partner. Previous co-operative attempts to bridge the gap, exemplified by efforts to expand school curricula to take more account of the world of work, failed - argues Wirtz - because they have been largely left in the hands of the schools; 'such bridges cannot be built only from one side'. The concept of collaboration, by contrast, requires that all partners in the programmes participate together in the identification of needs, the definition of objectives, the marshalling of resources, the management of implementation, and the evaluation of outcomes.

Arguments for Individualised Experience-Based Learning Opportunities

The argument is not, however, just for curriculum development by teachers in collaboration with the community; it is also that young adults in high schools should, themselves, be given direct access to, and an opportunity actively to learn from, that network of community contacts.

Career development theory has provided one of the springboards for the development of experience-based careers education; the pursuit of opportunities for students, at the 'exploration' stage, to find a sufficiently broad and penetrating experience of the adult world. In 1971 Sidney Marland, at that time US Commissioner of Education, argued that such exploratory programmes should be infused into school curricula, with the title 'career education'. He identified three arenas in which such exploration might occur - the home, the school and the community. But in order that such programmes achieve sufficient breadth and penetration, the use of the community as a learning resource became a priority.

In direct response to this argument, Research for Better Schools, and three other regional laboratories, were selected by the National Institute of Education in Washington to develop the EBCE concept into operational possibilities.

At RBS the conception of students' needs for experience at the exploratory stage has undergone further elaboration. The focus for thinking is upon the need to help high school students to escape from a time-perspective bounded only by what is happening in the present; to help them to understand that what is happening here and now is related to what comes later, that there are connections between life as a person at high school and life as a person in the 'world of work'. It is another integrated 'one world' argument, the unification here being in the experience of the individual student.

Experience-based learning at the exploratory stage thus becomes what might be called 'education now for the anticipation of possible selves in possible futures'. The objective is to stretch the time-perspective of the student so that it encompasses anticipated and desired life events. Such extensions of perspective cannot be realistically achieved within the tightly-bounded framework of conventional curricula considered in school rooms. To summarise the argument: there is not much that can be learned about being there by sitting here. The rationale for EBCE is, therefore, for high school students to be able to go and find for themselves from what stuff their future lives are to be forged. As one community resource person in a politician's office used by City-as-School remarked of one of the students, 'When she leaves she'll know a lot more about how laws are made than someone just reading a textbook.'

Closely linked, in thinking at RBS, with the need to help students at the exploration stage to extend their timeline is the need to help students achieve a more informed and effective sense of their own motivations. It is a sense of the need to help students escape from infantile and unconsidered action - what one member of the organisation referred to as the 'pleasure-pain principle'. Choosing and making a future, it may be argued, is worth negotiating at a level somewhere above that of the kneejerk. And so, at RBS, thought has been invested in identifying ways in which students can be invited to consider how 'work' roles influence and are influenced by attitudes to other life roles; how attitudes crystallised into stereotypic behaviour may entrap them (and others); and how no one (however disabled or deprived) is exempt from the consequences of not accepting responsibility for what he or she does.

There is, particularly in the Parkway Project, an understanding that if students are to achieve the benefits of experience-based approaches to learning, then that learning must be individualised. It is, therefore, part of its rationale that money saved on plant and equipment should be spent on an improved teacher-student ratio. Each individual student approaches learning from a highly idiosyncratic predisposition of needs, motives, interests and values. The work of the teachers is to build a programme of experience which idiosyncratically responds to a particular student's needs - and where the appropriate resource is not already on file (or so at least argues the rhetoric) to go out and find it.

Unpacking the Rationale

The arguments are of the 'we need ... therefore we must ...' type: 'we need to dismantle arbitrary separations between work and learning, therefore we must establish re-integrative programmes of collaboration between schools and communities'; 'we need students to be able fully to anticipate possible selves in possible futures, therefore we must have programmes where our youngsters can go and see for themselves'.

But the credibility of such arguments is notoriously vulnerable; for they positively invite a 'sez you!' retort which may run: 'That's what you say; what we say is that schools are about the maintenance of oases of cultural excellence in deserts of cultural mediocrity; and the last thing that schools must do is to allow their deep and pure wells to be contaminated by allowing he or she who will to trample in and out of school's preciously-maintained territories. Students and society at large need schools to maintain their curricula intact; because if schools do not transmit to our young some special and unsullied sense of what is valuable, fine and excellent, who will?'

Talks about 'needs' is often invested with such high-sounding rhetoric. It leaves the curious eavesdropper wondering how people can get themselves so polarised on an issue as universal and (apparently) irreducable as that of 'needs'. The reason is, sometimes, that when people talk about what society or students need, they are covertly talking about what they value for themselves. Projection sometimes postures as empathy.

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My own research (Law, 1977; 1978) suggests that the way in which guidance and counselling work is done in school is dependent, in part, upon personality-related and value-laden attitudes of the people doing the work. Some prefer to work through the existing structures, and to remain loyal to current objectives, of schooling. They are high on 'system orientation', emphasising connections with the school's present way of working. Others prefer to achieve roles which are in some independence of the existing procedures and beliefs of the school. They are low on 'system orientation', emphasising the wish to find alternative ways of working to those that the school is currently offering.

People who are looking for alternatives are likely to resort to a different use of rhetoric: 'But by bringing in employers, labour unionists and all those other "worthies" you are bringing in exactly the people who are not providing alternatives for possible selves in possible futures. By establishing those kinds of links you are strengthening the very coalition of bureaucratic powers which is taking us deeper into the existing system, not showing us alternatives to it. There are alternative lifestyles available to our youngsters - but you won't find them in a coalition of the school, the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades Council or the Department of Social Services!'

Or so runs the rhetoric. There is, however, a rationale which visualises possible selves in possible futures by assigning equal importance to connections and alternatives. Dahrendorf (1979) has provided the frame; he calls connections 'ligatures', and he calls alternatives 'options'. Both, he argues, are essential to the achievement of possible selves in possible futures - which he calls 'life chances'.

> Ligatures maintain continuities, they fasten people to the more-or-less permanent structures of their experience - nation and history, community and generation, family and its social constructions. Much of this is - it happens - the stuff of which school curriculum is made. Curriculum is a major

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means by which we bind our peoples to their societies. So - it might be added - is work; or, at least, paid employment. Such connections, made both inside and outside school, are - claims Dahrendorf - strong in China and Britain; among traditional working class and traditional upper class people; for monks and for kings. They are weak, he claims, in Brazil and West Germany; among 'modern youth' and the new middle classes; for drug addicts and pop stars.

While ligatures fasten people in their social space and time, options create variations from such structures. While ligatures are relatively easy to describe in concrete terms, options may not be; for they reside as much in the potential and imagined, or - at least - in the incipient and emergent, as in the actual and observable. Conditions for their emergence may, however, be described; such as the provisions of sufficient levels of security and participation to make such creative outflow possible. Such alternatives are large, claims Dahrendorf, in Britain and West Germany; among the traditional upper class and the new middle class; for kings and pop stars. They are small in China and Brazil; among the traditional working class and modern youth; for monks and drug addicts.

Both ligatures and options, argues Dahrendorf, are necessary to improved life chances. Where either connections or alternatives are reduced, life chances are reduced; as Figure 4 (taken from Dahrendorf) graphically models.

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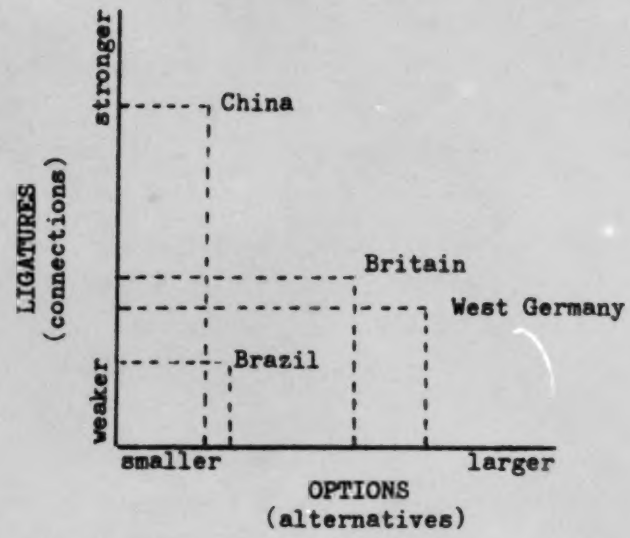
Figure 4

Life Chances: Example on a System of Co-ordinates



Connections and alternatives increase the total area of life chances available to an individual; as a field is increased in area by both its length and breadth. Neither is sufficient; both are necessary. People with the greatest life chances are people who both have strong connections and can imagine or recognise varied alternatives.

Can what binds us to the present and the past really help us prepare for rapid social, economic and technological change in the future? Is, for example, school curriculum relevant in any sense beyond a means of getting school-leaving qualifications? An analysis like that of Dahrendorf says 'yes!' or, at least, 'yes, where what is in curriculum is given a second dimension by bringing it into contact with the range of alternative uses to which it can be put.' I have tried to argue elsewhere (Law, 1981b) that there is not a subject on secondary school curriculum which is incapable of being used by people with no prospect of paid employment to meet at least some of their practical, social, psychological and aesthetic needs. The accumulated cultures in our curricula is not a write-off, and they need not be restrictive.

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They become restrictive only where they are used for one insulated purpose - like as an obstacle race for school-leaving qualifications. Any restriction is not in school curriculum, but in the unimaginative purposes to which it is put. Nobody is arguing that school curriculum is beyond the possibility of improvement; but, even in its present forms, it is capable of many more applications than are currently imagined from inside many a British and American school. As part of a network of resources of preparation for adult and working life, a great many more of those applications might be found.

An 'alternative-uses' dimension can probably be put on most of the connections that bind us to our places in our societies. Think of the extent to which such connections as 'family', 'community', 'work' and 'curriculum' have been allowed - in our recent histories - to be restricted in the uses which we make of them. There is more potentiality in our connections than our societies have currently learned to tap.

And what of alternatives? Is having alternatives inevitably liberating? On an analysis like Dahrendorf's the answer is, paradoxically, going to be 'not necessarily!' Actually having a great many alternatives can be paralysing - as Fullan's previously-quoted example of the helpless condition of users of innovation in a wholly 'permissive' relationship with the innovation may illustrate. In order to be of use, alternatives need to be talked of in the same breath as established connections. In times of low levels of paid employment, alternative 'economies' are proposed - such as household-based, commune-based, co-operative-based, bartering, voluntary work, free-wheeling, 'black' or 'grey', self-employment and so on. At first sight they often look like attractive and viable options. The problem arises where they are offered in isolation from the alliances, responsibilities, values and traditions of people's experience; all that has steadied and nourished them, and which has bound them - psychologically, socially, morally, and spiritually - as members of society. When I learn to <u>speak in one sentence</u> of what connects me to society, and the alternative uses I can make of those connections - then I will begin to see possible selves in possible futures.

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It seems likely that people individually differ with regard to importance each attaches to connections and alternatives. Some youngsters at school will need more help with one than with the other. Certainly teachers and other helpers differ - as my own research on high and low system orientation of counsellors suggests - and as the rhetorics characterised above illustrate.

But both 'sez you' retorts have a valid core. On Dahrendorf's analysis we need both connections and alternatives; and we need to be able to work with both - in 'one world' programmes of preparation for adult and working life.

Figure 5 sets it out by posing some of the questions that it requires answered. Answers on the left may appeal to those of high system orientation, on the right to those of low system orientation.

Figure 5

Questions for Integrative Programmes of Preparation for Adult and Working Life

	ABOUT STRENGTHENING CONNECTIONS (LIGATURES)	ABOUT ENLARGING ALTERNATIVES (OPTIONS)
ABOUT COLLABORATIVE NETWORKS	What happens to strengthen the connection between the network and established wisdom skills and insights of neighbourhood and community life?	What happens to give a voice in the network to imagined, incipient and emergent alternative adult and working life styles in neighbourhood and community?
ABOUT EXPERIENCE-BASED LEARNING	What happens to make the range of established experience in neighbourhood and community life accessible to, and usable by, students?	How free are students to make un-predicted and alternative uses of their experiences - to make new experiences from old?

In such programmes there is necessity for both the high and the low system oriented - for the rationale for integration is broader than either rhetoric can encompass.

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It gives the term 'integration' yet another shade of meaning - the integration into 'one world' programmes of both connections and alternatives; an issue on which Wirtz, and many of the programmes described earlier, have been less than explicit.

Examples of operational questions developed from this discussion appear on pages 87-88.

RESULTS

Nothing comes for nothing. Part of Fullan's diagnosis of innovative failure is that we sometimes try to get too much innovation for too little investment of time, energy and material. And, in their competition for resources, integrative programmes - like any other - need to be able to show that they can deliver a payoff.

The programmes' angling for resources are set out below in three sections: 1. offloading tactics - 'Help this programme, and it will help you to deal with problems that have been lying around for some time'; 2. appeals to self-interested voluntarism - 'Invest your own time and effort in this programme, there's something in it for you'; 3. appeals to evidence - 'These programmes are worth supporting, they achieve what they set out to do'.

Offloading Tactics

Programmes sometimes get set in place as a means of easing pressure on limited resources. Clifford Brenner's 'vision' in the Benjamin Franklin Parkway was not wholly idealistic in character; it was also economic. Philadelphia needed, and did not have, $15 million to relieve overcrowding in its schools. And some of the argument for the project was based on the view that it represented more cost-effective use of the dollars they did have. The CIPED programme at South Brunswick High School was adopted in part because a community-based programme was seen as a means of releasing pressure on classroom space. Such initiatives are, in part anyway, attempts to offload existing problems of schooling.

Offloading examples of a different type are found in Co-operative Education programmes which are, it is sometimes acknowledged, introduced as a means of coping with students who are proving difficult to cope with inside school rooms. Secondary school CE programmes have taken a high concentration of low academic achievers and potential drop-outs; particularly in the early years.

Appeals to Self-Interested Voluntarism

Part of the strategy of outfits like the Parkway project and City-as-School - both of which depend on members of the community volunteering

help - is to appeal to self-interest. CaS explicitly makes a contract with their community resource people; in exchange for the design and delivery of a learning experience for a student an employer is offered free-of-charge that same young person as a worker. But there are other interests to be identified; one of Parkway's community helpers acknowledged that part of his interest in participating in the scheme is because it is 'a good way to get people interested in the business'. The National Institute for Work and Learning specifically incorporate into their brochure on Education Work Councils the argument that 'communities have a vested interest in solving their own problems' and that education work councils exist, in part, to help with that process.

Both kinds of arguments are, of course, riven with dangers; for example dangers that the innovation become labelled as suitable only for 'difficult students'; and dangers that students will be exploited in their contacts in the network.

Appeals to Evidence

Wirtz acknowledges that what is being proposed in The Boundless Resource is no more than a hunch concerning what should be done in order to meet diagnosed needs: 'Perhaps', he admits, 'it won't work at all. There is, though, Antigone's counsel: "Until we have tried and failed, we haven't failed." This seems, in short, worth a try.' It is a weak argument; hard-headed keepers of resources are going to need more convincing than that! Wirtz acknowledges as much, 'There must be new measurements, the architects of social change seem to ignore that their efforts won't bring much change, except as some emergency develops, unless they can prove their case.'

It looks like a variation on Catch 22! Until the programmes are set up it is not possible to show what they can deliver; and until it is possible to show what they can deliver, it is hard to get them set up. But we need not get caught: we can begin now on staging an accumulation of supporting evidence for the programmes - reaching beyond rhetorical arguments of the 'We need ... therefore we must ...' type. We can provide:

1. evidence which justifies and informs the hunch that the programmes will deliver ('If we do this ... this is what we'll get ...'); and

2. evidence that they have delivered ('We did this ... and this is what we got ...').

Later in this section I will set out a summary of British evidence which supports the hunch that the programmes are likely to deliver.

But the American programmes, or - at least - some of them, already have reportable results on delivery. Any state- or federal-funded activity will need to show its capacity to achieve its objectives. After five years of operation City-as-School applied for, and received, New York State Education Department validation on the basis of statistics submitted. The statistics indicated that participation in CaS led to improved student attendance, course completion, career education competencies, self-awareness, initiative and positive attitudes towards school. Examples of such statistics show that attendance improves from a mean 70% to a mean 90% rate on transfer to CaS, and that credits are achieved at a correspondingly increased rate. Other statistics indicated increased positive staff attitudes and curriculum production, and an increase in positive attitudes on the part of community resource people.

Similar claims are made on behalf of the Parkway Project; although a great deal of what is known about the outcomes of such experiments is dependent on the impressions of the teachers who staff them. Among such impressions are those that students mature, and - in particular - develop social and decision-making skills, more rapidly at Parkway than they would in a conventional high school.

Wirtz anticipated the need for hard empirical evidence on the outcomes of such programmes; he bewails the fact that 'no one seems to realise how much this depends on some form of statistical measurement of whatever is done'. Some such evidence exists, in - for example - the CaS validation statistics. But they are not widely disseminated. CaS has produced a 16-page leaflet to encourage other outfits to use its model, and a 100-page demonstration manual: neither contains a single piece of validated evidence for outcomes.

The Co-operative Education movement is, in some respects, an exception to the generality bewailed by Wirtz. Highly quantified accounts of improvements in students are published (Slick and Welch, 1974) indicating:

that 70% of students on CE programmes land their first full-time jobs before leaving school (often as a direct consequence of a placement); that 70-80% of them use vocational skills acquired in the programme in their work life; that they earn around $20 a week more than the mean for their age; and that around 80% of them are rated above average in their job performance by their employers.

Impressive though such statistics may be in their magnitude, they are extremely limited in their scope - stronger on connections than alternatives. They do nothing, for example, to demonstrate the effectiveness of such programmes as a means of preparing for students to explore and equip themselves for a range of alternative roles, over a period of time, in a rapidly-changing labour economy. They do not indicate the extent to which students would be able to re-use the exploratory, decision-making and life skills when they leave their first job for other kinds of work. Nor do they demonstrate the consequences of such programmes for the infusion of school curricula with materials which are sufficiently broad and relevant to the adult lives which such young people will be called upon to live.

Evidence-based argument for the programme is currently weak. Part of the weakness stems from the fact that limited - and limiting - evidence is being collected and disseminated; and evidence which argues the broader case is not.

Evidence to Support the Hunch

There has been, in Britain and America, a debate among theoreticians and researchers concerned with career development in young adults. On one side are those who argue that career development is necessarily understood as psychological events; because individuals are, in their career development, involved in the consideration and implementation of some view of themselves as individuals. On the other side are those who argue that psychology is all but irrelevant to a consideration of career development; because all the main freight for what happens in people's lives is carried by events described by sociology - 'big picture' events in labour economy, social class structure and massive forces of socialisation which represent the currents and vortices

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which, it is argued, carry most of us to our destinies.

The argument in Britain has been called 'a contest of heavyweights'. It sounds more like the ritual aggression of beating drums from two sides of a chasm with very bad accustics - the opponents can barely hear each other, let alone touch each other!

An irony in all of this is that a great deal of the British evidence on the issue (reviewed in Law, 1981a) supports neither camp. When asked about what influences them in getting themselves from their present into their future, most young adults refer neither to processes of introspection, nor to events in society-at-large; they are rather more likely to talk about people they have known. Much of this evidence has been lying around for some time; but it is being strengthened by a number of recent studies. It supports the view that the life-planning and coping of young adults is undertaken in interaction with a wide range of contacts in the community in which they live out the main events of their lives - 'their patch'. The patch is populated by people who occasion learning by young adults in the warp and weft of their daily lives; people like their parents, their siblings, their extended family, their neighbourhood contacts, their peer group, teachers at their school, and members of their ethnic group. These are what the Grubb Institute (1982) terms 'ordinary' encounters - not specialised or institutionalised 'interventions'. Such ordinary community interactions seem to inform young adults concerning their sense of themselves as psychological distinct beings; and they probably also convey some of the influence of 'big picture' sociological realities. But the process is distinct from both what can be explained in mainly psychological, or mainly sociological, terms.

It is possible to disentangle from the evidence at least five likely types of gain from interactions occurring in the career development of young adults on their patch:

- o <u>Feedback</u> acquired concerning their suitability for different sorts of social roles - they make images of self in contact with people they encounter in

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community life.

- o Support acquired from the encouragements and reinforcements offered to aspirations by their membership of formal and informal community groups.
- o Modelling acquired from the flesh-and-blood examples of people encountered in their participation in community life.
- o Images and impressions of employed and non-employed adult and working life, distilled from conversations and encounters in the community.
- o Expectations acquired from the values held by people known in community - the cues, pressures and enticements embedded in membership of formal and informal community groups.
- o Contacts made; youngsters meet people who can open doors, tell of vacancies, identify employment and non-employment opportunities - which youngsters can use to gain entry to adult and working life.

Figure 6 sets out the elements in a possible 'community interaction' theory. It describes the theatre - a network of community contacts; and the scenario - the deliveries that network makes to its rising generations.

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Figure 6

THEATRE AND SCENARIO FOR INTEGRATED PROGRAMMES

Theatre - the Network

Scenario - the Delivery	Parents	Siblings	Extended Family	Neighbourhood Contacts	Peer Group	Teachers	Ethnic Group
Feed back							
Support							
Modelling							
Images							
Expectations							
Contacts							

The influence of that network can be very potent; as any helper will be able to attest who has worked with young adults who cannot escape a 'ghetto' mentality, or take a perspective on themselves or their futures generated beyond earshot of a shout for a home goal (or 'run') at the local stadium.

Programmes described here are designed to use that potency; outfits like CaS, Parkway, Olney Park School, South Brunswick High School, and Oakland Education Work Council are concerned with working through just such networks, for just such deliveries.

They may also be concerned to extend those networks. For 'community' may be defined in both actual and potential terms. It may include the people to be met beyond the ghetto or village - across a city, a region, a country or (for that matter) the world. It may also include the people who live in the ghetto or village but who have not been fully encountered -

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yet. Integration, remember, can incorporate alternative possibilities as well as existing connections.

Networks are extendable. And the evidence also speaks of outcomes of extension; recent evidence from the British studies begins to suggest some specific gains which students make from the extension of their community interaction. Among the phrases which have been used to describe those gains are:

- more purposeful
- more striving
- more assertive
- more exploratory
- more informed with alternatives
- less anxious

There is good reason to hunch that any programme which jigged itself into symbiotic relationship with - and enrichment of - the community interaction of young adults would be able to report such gains for their students. But it is not an argument which all tightly-institutionalised, professionalised and bureaucratised organisations are necessarily going to find attractive. The programmes will need to continue to provide evidence to support it themselves; if they seriously seek to enter the competition for resources.

Examples of operational questions developed from this discussion appear on pages 88-89.

INFLUENCES

If integrative innovation is to have any coherence, then it needs some kind of co-ordination. What might be called a 'lay back' style of co-ordination may mean little more than making the contribution of each part of the operation visible to the whole; a more 'forward' style of co-ordination may mean actively seeking and influencing new contributions. Fullan uses the terms 'permissive' and 'top-down' to refer to such features of influence in innovative work; and reports that neither is necessarily satisfactory. Each, in its way, leaves the user of the innovation in a helpless condition, either because he or she has been on the receiving end of too much influence - or too little. The co-ordinator, or co-ordinating group, can be on a two-way loser; either for telling people what to do, or for not telling people what to do'.

Some of the programmes examined here have given thought to how such co-ordinators - whether in Education-Work Councils, as resource co-ordinators at City-as-School, in Experience-Based Careers Education Programmes, or in Co-operative Programmes - should be selected and trained. Co-ordinating influence may be thought of as depending upon the exercise of authority and power in the co-ordinator(s). And the programmes have given thought to both issues.

Authority - Which is Broad and Flexible

There is some agreement that a good co-ordinator is a person with breadth of mind; a capacity to appreciate and use a variety of different sorts of perspectives on the situation, and a capacity flexibly to adapt in response to the breadth of those perspectives.

A kind of breadth of mind is sought by the Penn State preparation programme for CE co-ordinators, which seeks 'extravert' candidates with the 'right' kind of industrial and commercial experience to give credibility in the eyes of employers; and who are, therefore, going to be good 'public relations' people. The position seems to favour the plausible as much as the authoritative face of credibility!

It is claimed at the National Institute for Work and Learning that effective people in influencing the development of experience-based

programmes are people who can appreciate the positions of employers and students and schools - a (slightly) broader span of perspectives than that envisaged at the Penn State CE programme.

Arguments for a greater breadth of mind are built into training programmes for guidance counsellors - like those at Penn State and Rutgers. What one Penn State informant called 'some kind of states-person' role should be developed in training guidance counsellors. It would involve developing a broad appreciation of the social and economic issues of guidance. It is admitted that where such sociological and economic perspectives are included in training they tend to be dealt with in an intellectual rather than practical way; and it is further acknowledged that people who select themselves into guidance training are often not much interested in examining such broader perspectives; they are, naturally, more interested in mastering their their face-to-face delivery skills and insights. Penn State's experience, and hope, is that school districts are, and will be, interested in appointing people who have not only such applied-psychological but also such applied-sociological insights and skills; skills that can be utilised in co-ordinating teams as well as in face-to-face work with students.

The breadth of mind required of a person concurrently to focus upon both face-to-face delivery situations, and broader social-political ambiences, may account for the fact that City-as-School has divided the single Parkway role of staff teacher into the two complementary roles - of staff tutor and resource co-ordinator. At Parkway and CaS, criteria for good resource co-ordinators have to do with the capacity of people - who may have no particular power in the system - adaptively to 'finesse' their way into credible acceptance by resources; a specific criterion for selection at CaS being that successful candidates should be flexible rather than rigid as personalities.

Power - and Its Limits

When asked what is the key factor in successfully establishing education-work councils, the first response to come out of NIWL is 'people who are "power brokers"'. Power brokers are people who can make the decisions which will 'mobilise' community resources, and whose professional experience has taught them the kind of 'political astuteness' which can

translate a good idea into action - even where there are powerful interests and arguments against it. For this reason NIWL wants people on EWCs from senior levels in the organisations they represent.

Research for Better Schools seeks engagement with all levels in the hierarchy of education, from state commissioner, through district superintendents to school principals and teachers.

But there is, in both organisations, a sense of the dangers in entrusting too much to 'higher' levels of power in the system. NIWL have discovered, for example, that in some states the legislature has offered to pass laws mandating EWCs; and NIWL have argued against such moves. At RBS senior personnel have been in a position to write clauses into state legislation for education, but the opportunity has been declined. In both cases there is a sense that legislation might hinder as much as help.

Part of their reluctance comes from a sense that legislatively-supported innovation is politicised innovation. What can be seen as a plank in the political platform of this term's State Commissioner for Education can, for that very reason, be dismantled after the next election. In one of the states a carefully-built programme of student personnel services was dismantled by a successive state government because it was argued to be part of the 'Republican conspiracy'. Political allies are, in the nature of the beast, temporary allies - who bring with them the certainty of political opposition.

But there is also a distrust of the capacity of legislators adequately to codify and measure the complexity and diversity of what is envisaged, and what might be as yet un-envisagable. Wirtz anticipated the problem for such innovations by observing that 'present measurements of education and work are tied in with, and tend to support, present ways of doing things'. The legislation of state and federal dollars into educational innovation has tended to have, it is reported, just such a bureaucratising and crystallizing effect. For example, at one time the Federal Government showed an interest in projects concerned with operationalising the objectives of education; and this led to cohorts of project proposals being re-written with cosmetic references to operational criteria: necessary, but not sufficient features of adequate programmes of research and development.

The general problem has taken on a specific shape at City-as-School. The operation is validated by the school district and is, therefore, subject to criteria for evaluation like other high schools in the district. Among the preoccupations of the district administration is the need to establish adequate standards of school management; and pressure is therefore put on school principals to define objectives, in advance of management decisions, concerning how resources are being mobilised to meet such objectives. But a management-by-objectives style does not necessarily fit well with such enterprises as CaS. Its resources, particularly the community resource people, are in a much more fluid relationship with its objectives. Resources are in a constant process of leakage and topping-up. It is impossible to anticipate, with the same kind of precision that a conventional high school principal would have, what is going to be available to the project more than a few weeks ahead. It might be better, therefore, to redefine the management style of the project in a way which reflects such features of its operation. And they are essentially opportunistic. A visitor to the project is struck by the extent to which almost everything the principal is called upon to do is an interruption of what he was just doing. New information, new crises, and new questions are the perpetually changing agendas for discussion and decision-making. The organisation embodies few of the continuities represented by the schedules, timetables and procedures of a conventional high school. The management-skill resides in distilling - day-by-day, at times moment-by-moment - some creative order out of unpredicted chaos. That - to be sure - requires of the principal and his staff a very clear idea of the basic aims upon which the operation is founded: but it does not permit them to define specific and concrete objectives in advance of those for the decision which is being made here-and-now. It is not management-by-objectives, but management-by-aims-and-opportunities.

And so - particularly at NIWL - there is a wish to leave local groups as free as possible to accept their own autonomous responsibility for what is specifically and concretely done in their communities. The argument is not for compliance with handed-down requirements of the law, but for the inventiveness of community; not for legalistic but for ideational credibility; not for broad and doctrinaire solutions but for specific responses to specific problems. As an article in one of NIWL's circulars argues, 'the notion of a single, national, largely publicly-

funded approach to work and education issues is not a very realistic one.'

An Ecology for Integration

We are talking here about levels of power and authority in complex systems; levels ranging from person-to-person influence through to socio-political influence.

It seems to be an issue for teachers doing counselling and guidance work in British secondary schools. Some want more than anything to work in intimate contact with other people; others seem to be able to turn their attention away from such intimacies for long enough to look at the broader social system. A statistical analysis of the responses of the 400 teachers in the attitude survey (Law, 1979) showed that teachers tended to separate themselves on issues of agreement and disagreement with items concerning:

- client centred listening;
- doing work like a social worker, psychotherapist or psychologist;
- working through informal relationships;
- speaking for the individual student;
- getting involved in people's 'personal' difficulties;
- getting involved in liaison, consultation and communication work.

People who strongly agree with such items seem to be those whose energies are pointed at close, direct, person-to-person contact. Others seemed to be freer to take account of the possibility of involvement in other areas of activity.

I am grateful to a colleague, Alan Webster, for suggesting the applicability to this discussion of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model for an 'ecology' of child development. Bronfenbrenner proposes four systems in the ecology of child development. I have transposed that analysis below; into a language of participation in such operations as City-as-School - with its staff tutors, its resource co-ordinators and its community resource people. (Bronfenbrenner's vocabulary is given in brackets.) People participate at a number of

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levels:

- o As members of society-at-large (macrosystems) with all its pervasive beliefs, values, ideologies, historical legacies, and so on. It may be cited in reference to such generalised beliefs as 'the work ethic', or 'democracy', 'capitalist (or Marxist) conspiracies' the 'failure of schools' and so on. It is actually very difficult for individuals to possess authority to make such statements; but that does not deter some from claiming it. Neither does it mean that all such claims are false.

- o As members of social or organisational groupings in society (exosystems), such as the legislative system, the school system, industrial or commercial groupings, trade unionism, and (more diffusely) 'domestic life', 'alternative lifestyles' and so on. Some of what people have to offer represents those affiliations. Alliances and agreements in the operation may be formed on such bases. People can speak from such affiliations with more manifest credibility than from their membership of society-at-large - and the influence is legitimate if they can successfully do so.

- o As members of teams or associations (mesosystems) they bring something that represents a school or department of a school, a home, a factory or section of a factory, an office, a co-operative, a commune, a trade union group, and so on. Some of what they have to offer is a representation of those memberships; and it is often the handle on deliberation and expertise in the operation that people will grasp with the greatest facility. It may or may not be shared with other members of the operation.

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- As persons (microsystem) living out their own individual and distinct existences in direct and personal contact with partners in their adult and working lives. Some of what they contribute to the deliberations and deliveries of the operation is very personally their own property, based on unique personality and individual - often 'ordinary' - experience. It is the one source of influence all members may be sure of; but it can easily be made to sound weak by opponents.

There are good reasons to suppose that the analysis may be fruitful for our purpose.

In the first place it is necessary only to set out the analysis in order to realise that any attempt to achieve significant innovation from authority at one level will be ineffective. Voices on behalf of legislation are unlikely to go unopposed where that legislation does not represent genuinely pervasive beliefs and values in society-at-large. And what legislation seeks will - in any event - be ineffectual unless teams and individuals are ready to implement it. All levels of participation are necessary to development; none is sufficient.

Secondly, all levels in the ecology contain repertoires of things that can effectively be done - and things that can't! The power and authority of a member of an EWC, an EBCE teacher or a CaS resource person is - in some respects - 'greater' and - in some respects - 'less' than power and authority elsewhere in the system. There is in community interaction theory an implicit respect for the power and influence upon young people of 'ordinary' experience. Each level of the ecology has its own characteristic repertoire of influencing energies - in the forms both of authority and power - to invest in development. None has a monopoly on either wisdom or clout!

Attempts by the NY school district to impose a management-by-objectives style of operation on CaS is likely to be - at best - ineffective, because it is uncomprehending of what is well understood (but probably not very clearly articulated) by many of its community resource people. If readiness for action exists at the

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level of individual participation, it is not necessary to legislate for it, it is necessary only to permit and resource it. If readiness does not exist legislation will - at best - get a cosmetic response ; like the re-written project proposals mentioned on page 48.

Uncomprehending imposition may - at worst - prove to be destructive rather than merely weak; it would be an example of the imposition of power without authority! It is often argued that greater aggregate power is vested in organisations than in individuals: but even that power is limited; both by its vulnerability to cultural pressures from 'above' and the power (at least to obstruct) from 'below'. All levels in the system have at least a devil or a deep blue sea as modifiers of their influence - some have both!

So, thirdly, it is imperative to examine in detail what influence each level can - and cannot - contribute to innovative development. It seems credible to suggest, for example, that personal (microsystem) energies come - in part - from intimate knowledge of inter-personal communications and the 'sharp end' delivery skills of facilitating such communication. In the world of 'academia' we are talking about the skills and insights which come from developmental, differential and counselling psychology; disciplines which - in Britain and America - have dominated the in-service preparation of guidance personnel. Such training - refined and elaborated by personal experience - develops an authority and power which may or may not be 'less' than that found elsewhere in the system, but it will certainly be different.

Conversely, it seems credible to suggest that organisational (exosystem) energies come from generalised knowledge of how particular programmes fit into, complement, duplicate and compete with each other; and from the skills of logistically co-ordinating the contributions of each to the whole. In the world of 'academia' we are talking about skills and insights which come from the sociology of organisation, social psychology, applied political science and social administration.

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We would need to be able to escape the semantic traps laid by talking about levels in the systems as having 'wholly more' or 'wholly less' power and authority in order to be able to complete the necessary job of making a thorough inventory of what kinds of power and authority lay in each level of the system.

Fourthly, such an analysis does something to resolve the dilemma in Fullan's characterisation of 'top-down' versus 'permissive' innovations. Both styles fail to take account of the mutual needs in the system which an analysis like Bronfenbrenner's makes clear. The former style makes the error of ignoring the power and authority which lies at the personal (microsystem) and team-based (mesosystem) levels; the latter makes the error of ignoring that power and authority at the organisational (exosystem) and globally ideational (macrosystem) levels. Growth depends upon all levels in the ecosphere: it is fed by its roots, pollinated by its peers, is watered and irradiated from the skies. The dilemma cannot be resolved in terms of deciding who contributes more or less influence: it may be resolvable in terms of deciding who contributes what kind of influence. (The issue is developed further in the section entitled 'Actions'.)

The fifth point takes us back to the reason for raising the issue of influence in the first place. A feature of integrative innovation in careers guidance is to be found in the extent to which it is a co-ordinated activity. And a co-ordinator touches the linkages within and between all levels of the ecosystem. In order to know how 'forward' or 'lay-back' a stance to take with regard to any particular innovative enterprise, that person will need to know more than he or she has imported from whatever level of the system she or he has been recruited to the task. (The case applies whether that recruitment has been made - as NIWL hope - from among 'power brokers'; or - as Penn State guidance training programme suggest - from among guidance counsellors.) Such a person will need to have better than a stereo-type of what power and authority lies at all levels in the system. The implications for selection and training of co-ordinators may be more extensive than are currently taken into account - even at Penn

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State and Rutgers.

Examples of operational questions developed from this discussion appear on pages 89-90.

DIVERSIFICATIONS

Whatever the problem, there is always more than one way of defining it; and always more than one way of ameliorating or solving it. It is a special feature of integrated programmes - with their networks - that they should always be able to tap other ways of looking at problems and their solutions. The enemy is narrowness of vision, and - as Fullan points out - the incapacity to unlearn what already has become fixed in the individual or collective mind.

At both the National Institute for Work and Learning and Research for Better Schools there is a strong sense of the untapped yield yet to be found in the ideas of education-work councils and experience-based learning. They employ rather different strategies for tapping that diversity.

Network Membership and Agendas

At NIWL the preferred strategy for maintaining the breadth of the idea of collaboration is that local EWCs go for diversity of perspective on two counts; to: 1. involve as wide range of different interests as possible; and 2. open agendas to as wide a range of suggestions for initiation as possible.

NIWL are particularly interested, therefore, in councils which invite membership from community organisations which might not immediately occur as obvious candidates for membership. It pays particular attention to gaining representation on councils from such groups as young people in the community, their parents, trade unionists, and others who do not have the same sort of institutionalised, visible and manifestly credible base in community life as, say, employers or educationists. But NIWL's experience is that - in some cases because of their lack of visible institutional base, and in some cases because of the different terms in which they voice their concerns - parents, young people and trade unionists have some difficulty in achieving credibility in the councils. They tend, therefore, to drop out of membership. Diversification will be much enhanced where such groups can be helped to achieve credibility in the councils, and - therefore - stay. All of this says nothing about involving voices for the wide range of alternative adult and working life

styles in a community - of which NIWL takes no apparent account at all.

The problem of maintaining a breadth of perspective in implementing new ideas is a problem, too, at the sharp end of delivery - in such projects as Parkway, and City-as-School. Diversity of representation on EWCs needs to be reflected, at delivery level, in diversity among community resource people; and - at CaS - it is reported that the problems of achieving a sufficient diversity of potential placements for students is perennial.

Uses and Limitations of 'Group Dynamics' and 'Inputs'

Research for Better Schools is working mainly with existing and well-defined school systems and their political superstructures; and the NIWL strategy of diversifying perspective through augmenting membership of teams is, therefore, not an option.

And, it is repeatedly reported, existing teams of teachers on integrative programmes tend to 'pull back' into familiar classroom-based patterns of work. Both the Parkway and the Community Involved Placement for Educational Development projects report the wish of teachers to hold students inside school. The Principal of City-as-School, sensing the coming of some such confrontation with his staff, was heard to observe (mainly to himself) 'Goddam it! If I can't get them to go with the idea themselves, then I'll take them with me!'

Coercion, though tempting in moments of extreme frustration, is not the only strategy considered. At RBS there is a dilemma concerning the different values of what are there called 'group dynamic'-based and 'input'-based consultancy and training methods.

There are, among some personnel at RBS, doubts concerning the usefulness of 'organisation development' (OD) styles of consultancy - with their heavy reliance upon releasing the group-dynamic potential for solving the group's own problems. The OD method of clarifying and reflecting perspectives generated from within a relatively closed system (like a school) can, it may be argued, degenerate into the celebration of reciprocally-reinforced ignorance, prejudice and conservatism. RBS observe - however - that people working in an OD mode in school systems

report a high degree of satisfaction with such processes; but this may amount - after all - to little more than a group-celebration of 'being us'. The Third Reich might well have experienced such satisfaction with such an outcome; public acknowledgement of the possibility of alternative ideas came only with incursion of perspectives from beyond the Oder and the Rhine. Some RBS personnel are, therefore, not impressed with reports of client-satisfaction; and they will only place reliance on OD methods where it is clear that the group has sufficient diversity of knowledge, attitudes and skills to be able to fertilise and extend its own current thinking and development.

The alternative strategy is to try to weave new content - which seeks to inform and extend existing preoccupations - into the process. Sometimes the infusion of new content is achieved by setting the group the task of finding out more, sometimes by bringing new information into the group in a way which models the usefulness and technique of doing so.

Both elements were present in a consultation which RBS accepted to work with a school system preoccupied with a political desirability to be seen to respond to the special needs of the children of Hispanic families. The consultation took the form of challenging the group to define the problem in broader terms than the need, politically, to be seen to be doing something. It was noted that members of the group were coming to meetings with no more information on subsequent occasions than they had at the beginning; they were coming 'empty handed'. So the RBS consultant came to later meetings fully-briefed with new information relevant to discussions. This 'full-handed' participation in meetings was experienced by the group as challenging and effective. The group modelled their behaviour upon it, eventually hiring a specialist to head a working party thoroughly to inquire into the problem, analyse the data and suggest recommended action based on new knowledge. (The method has not always worked out that way in Britain, as the report of the Careers Guidance Integration Project repeatedly illustrates - Evans and Law, 1982.)

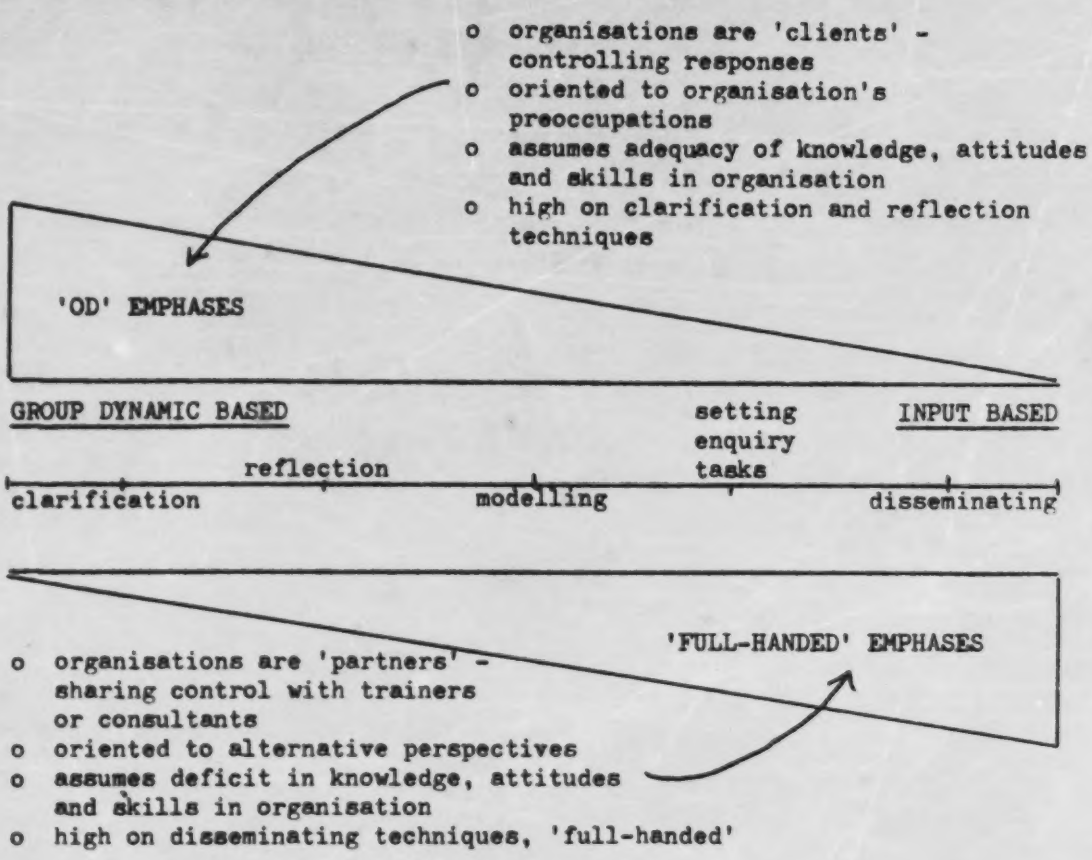
The technique is similar to some that might be used by OD consultants. But it is argued by RBS personnel that the purposes are different. OD methods depend upon a 'consultant-client' relationship, and in which the client defines the 'problem' and controls the response to it. The

preference among these RBS personnel is for a 'partnership' relationship with organisations; in which the consultant brings alternative perspectives, and the organisations bring a willingness to share their responsibility for deciding what happens with the consultant. The strategy does not necessarily imply that the consultant rides rough-shod over the pre-occupations and perspectives of the host organisation; neither does it necessarily imply that he or she will insist that everything that is known outside the organisation must be known and responded to inside it. New material is introduced selectively and progressively, and in response to a sense of the readiness of the organisation to use it. But it does imply that the consultant accepts a considerable degree of responsibility for what happens as a result of the consultation; and this, in turn, implies that the consultant must be clear concerning the ideas she or he seeks to disseminate, and informed concerning the wide range of actions that can come out of them.

Figure 7 sets out some of the elements in the dilemma and relates it to features of training and consultancy activity on a continuum.

Figure 7

REPERTOIRES FOR CONSULTANCY AND TRAINING


o organisations are 'clients' - controlling responses
o oriented to organisation's preoccupations
o assumes adequacy of knowledge, attitudes and skills in organisation
o high on clarification and reflection techniques
'OD' EMPHASES
GROUP DYNAMIC BASED
INPUT BASED
setting enquiry tasks
reflection
clarification
modelling
disseminating
'FULL-HANDED' EMPHASES
o organisations are 'partners' - sharing control with trainers or consultants
o oriented to alternative perspectives
o assumes deficit in knowledge, attitudes and skills in organisation
o high on disseminating techniques, 'full-handed'

Boundaries for Diversification

We are talking here about resources for adaptability. Diversification brings with it a repertoire of possible responses, and therefore high adaptability: lack of diversity means an inflexible 'Johnny-one-note' unadaptability.

Much of what has been said about these two states in organisations and social groups can be traced to Durkheim (1972) who analysed societies as having greater or lesser degrees of 'mechanical' and 'organic' cohesion.

> A society high on mechanical cohesion depends upon the similarity of beliefs held by its members, beliefs which

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are crystallised into a detailed, consensual and - eventually - 'statutory' regulation of their conduct. Individual members do not, therefore, readily think of conflict with the group; they accept the assignment to them of their roles in the group. They also have a very clear sense concerning who is 'inside' - and what is acceptable - to the group, and of who and what is 'outside' and not acceptable.

A society high on organic cohesion depends upon the differences between its members, and so it deals with conflict in terms of 'civil' and lateral - rather than statutory or consensual - action between members. Conflict within the group is part of the stuff of which the whole is made, members are free to achieve idiosyncratic roles, the society is complex and diverse, and it is much more difficult to determine who or what is 'inside' and 'outside' its boundaries of membership and acceptability.

Durkheim's ideas are capable of extension into the sociologies of firms and schools. For example Burns and Stalker (1966) distinguish between industrial and commercial firms as 'mechanistic' and 'organismic' systems. The former are characterised more by stable constellations of jobs, skills and specialised knowledge; by a stronger reliance upon the existing and familiar as a basis for decisions; and by a higher degree of control from the top.

Bernstein (1967) characterises schools as being organised along 'closed' or 'open' lines. The former have greater degrees of institutional - rather than personal - control; and a greater reliance upon a small number of simply defined roles - there will, for example, be a small number of people in management roles, and teacher roles will be relatively undiversified into such specialisms as guidance and counselling. Conversely, open schools 'celebrate diversity, not purity'.

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Although he did not use the following analysis himself, Durkheim's and his successors' polarisations of types of social organisation identifies three boundaries relevant to the release or containment of diversity. Those boundaries:

- Separate the group from other groups: preventing what is 'outside' coming 'inside' - external boundaries.
- Separate the group sectionally from itself: preventing lateral action which is independent of whole group consensus or control from 'the top' - internal boundaries.
- Separate personality and role: preventing conflict between individuals, or between the individual and the group - the boundary with individuality.

External boundaries. Burns and Stalker point out that mechanistic systems show little respect for cosmopolitan affiliations and expertise, available in the milieux beyond the organisation's gates. And, according to Bernstein, a closed school is similarly protected from outsiders; it resists parental influence, the impact of 'teenage' culture and the cultural diversification of classroom materials. In a later article Bernstein (1971) focuses upon curriculum by characterising it in terms of 'framing' by different schools. Strong framing means that a clear boundary is set between what may and what may not be transmitted to students. Strong curriculum framing is a feature of closed schools.

Internal boundaries. A feature of mechanistic systems is, according to Burns and Stalker, that fewer consultations occur laterally between members of the workforce. And Bernstein points out that closed schools are similarly divided internally; affording little opportunity for cross-curriculum work or team teaching.

In the later article Bernstein also examined curriculum in terms of the degree to which it is 'classified' by schools. A highly classified curriculum is one in which knowledge is collected behind well-insulated subject-boundaries.

Boundaries with individuality. Burns and Stalker characterise mechanistic firms as being less likely than organismic firms to pay attention to

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individual human capacities in making decisions about how the firm should operate. Bernstein suggests that it is a feature of closed schools to assign roles to teachers and students on a limited number of criteria - de-emphasising their individuality; and to resist attempts by teachers and students to achieve new roles and positions in the school on the basis of their special qualities. A newly-appointed teacher would be expected to do much what his or her predecessor had done. A characteristic of strong curriculum framing is, according to Bernstein, that teachers do not permit knowledge taken from individual experience in the world outside their formally-defined role, to intrude into classroom work.

Both Burns and Stalker, and Bernstein, point to what they take to be the consequences for unadaptability of such impermeable boundaries. Mechanistic firms sit uneasily in changing circumstances; and closed schools develop a siege mentality in rapidly changing and diversifying neighbourhoods and communities.

Such analyses may have a value beyond that of keeping academic sociologists out of worse mischief; they may prove fruitful for practice. For a boundary against diversification is also a potential link to diversification. Gates can be put into walls. So, anyone interested in diversifying an operation's capacity to meet problems, could fruitfully consider these questions. What further diversity can be:

- brought into the operation from outside - by new membership or outside input?
- released from the separated sections - departments, factions, etc. - already in the operation?
- released from individual members of the operation?

All three routes are represented in the work of NIWL and RBS. The 'new membership' strategy is favoured at NIWL, it penetrates the external boundary. So does the 'outside input' strategy favoured by some members of RBS. The release of individual potentiality and sectional views may be achieved by the 'group dynamic'-based

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consultancy and training activities favoured by other members of RBS. They both penetrate individual and internal boundaries. The release of individual potentiality may also penetrate the external boundary, for individuals have authority taken from experience outside their roles in the system. There is more than one way of getting diversity of knowledge, attitude and skill into an operation.

There are of course problems in all three routes. All imply conflict, for diversity implies conflict; between individual and system, section and section, new and old members, host and consultant. That is acknowledged by Durkhein and his disciples. All three routes also require that work is done on identifying the extent and limits of the influence to be claimed by, and conceded to, participants in the conflict. Issues of influence were discussed in a previous section. Issues for conflict will be discussed further in the section entitled 'Developments'.

Examples of operational questions developed for this discussion appear on pages 90-91.

ACTIONS

Good innovative words are never enough they require to be made flesh. Fullan's evidence of studies of innovation point - often enough - to the difficulties of using innovative ideas which are not talked about in terms of the concrete and specific realities of working situations; of roles, resources and procedures. They invite the 'For-Pete's-sake-just-tell-me-what-you-want-me-to-do!' retort. But the agents of innovation sometimes resist such demands to be concrete and specific; because - perhaps - they can see more potentiality in the idea than any inventory of 'things to do' will ever contain.

Our experience of incarnation, to date, indicates that it is not an undertaking to be embarked upon lightly! The innovative idea may originate from too high up and too far away to be instantly recognisable to its audiences; it is probably going to contain more potentiality than they will appreciate for some time to come; and the actions it implies may not so much be found to 'be tried and found wanting, but found difficult and not tried!' (With acknowledgement to G K Chesterton).

At both the National Institute for Work and Learning and Research for Better Schools a great deal of thought has necessarily been invested in the problem of getting innovative ideas translated into action.

Taking Time to Explore

A feature of early discussion in some local education work councils in the US - maybe a product of the need to exhibit 'American know-how' - has been that people have tended to move straight to 'things to be done'; without developing any underlying ideas or concepts concerning the meaning and significance of their actions - beyond immediate, short-term practicality. It might be called the 'let's-get-to-it!' syndrome. The experience at NIWL is that people need time to find out what is - and what might be - involved in the idea. The idea of EWCs is not instantly recognisable - particularly where they speak of employers sitting down with labour unionists to talk about education. NIWL find that it is necessary to state and explore the idea many times before it becomes recognisable and usable by people, and - therefore - credible to them.

But any suggestion for action can also be used to invoke a concept; a way of explaining to ourselves why we want to undertake a particular action; of expressing the value that the action has, so that the value of one action can be compared with the value of another; and a basis for arguing or guessing what kinds of outcomes might be gained from the action. For example, 'work experience' is an action programme which can be used to invoke the concept of experience-based learning. A careers convention (or careers fair) is an action which is capable of invoking a concept of collaboration between diverse partners. And fund raising by EWCs is an action which assumes a concept of community responsibility for the upbringing of the rising generation. 'Experience-based learning', 'diverse collaboration' and 'community responsibility' are abstract not concrete; they are concepts. Actions take on meaning and significance when they are spoken of along with (these or other) concepts which inform them.

More importantly, any such concept, once thoroughly taken on board, can be re-used to generate a thousand more suggestions for things to be done. 'Experience-based learning' is more abstract than 'work experience', but it is broader in its scope and richer in its potentiality.

According to informants at NIWL the use of such abstract concepts may come later to trade unionists than to (say) educationists or (even) employers. Early participation in EWCs by trade unionists has, naturally, tended to be about immediate, concrete and pragmatic union demands - such as action for improved pay, security and working conditions for the labour force. But where labour unionists are able to articulate a concept underlying such demands - such a concept might be, for example, 'quality of worklife' - they can more successfully counterpoise their arguments against employers' use of conceptions of 'productivity' or the educationists' 'preparation for adulthood'. Furthermore the concept of 'quality of worklife' has embedded within it much more potentiality than can be expressed in terms of action for pay, security and working conditions. It is capable of releasing suggestions ranging from those concerning the aesthetic quality of working environments to those concerning worker-participation in decision-making. Such a concept, once credibly established in the currency of the group, strengths the position in that group of its proponents, and provides the group with a powerful tool for the generation of a concrete and operational

programme of action.

For this reason NIWL spends much of its time in the early stages of establishing EWCs providing people with opportunities to articulate and re-articulate their perceptions of what is happening - and may happen - in their community; until the underlying concepts which are informing people's suggestions become articulated, visible, recognisable, credible and - therefore - re-usable.

Scenario Building

Experience at Research for Better Schools sees itself primarily in the business of disseminating concepts. It has developed action programmes to implement the concepts, and has resourced them with materials; and members of the organisation report that it is much easier to disseminate strategies and materials than it is to disseminate concepts. Ready-made action programmes are relatively easy to sell; concepts take more time and commitment from both the purchaser and the vendor. They also require a period of preparatory consultation in order to become clear and usable.

It is reported, at RBS, that teachers experience difficulty in understanding a concept like 'education' except in terms of what they habitually perceive as its activities and materials. When the Federal Government made more resources available to schools under the Title One provisions, many teachers faced with the question 'what are you going to do with the increased resources?', found it difficult to go beyond a 'more of the same' reply. RBS feel that the concept of 'education' has been trapped inside the immediate, visible, and familiar day-to-day operations of 'schools'. A new concept of 'experience-based learning', therefore, often proves difficult to learn; for it requires a separation between the ideas of 'education' and 'schooling'; and - it is reported by people at RBS - that separation is not always easy to achieve in the minds of American schoolteachers. Yet such a separation - when it occurs - opens the door to new realisations that some of what happens in school is not particularly educational, and some of what happens outside school can be highly educational.

The priority at RBS is, therefore, to stay with disseminating concepts; but to acknowledge that ideas depend for their credibility upon being

recognisable in terms of the concrete operations to which they can lead. The technique - which may be called 'scenario building' - is to gain a response to a concept proposed by RBS: by inviting users to visualise what they think its practical implementation might look like; by inviting them to elaborate on each other's visualisation of such scenarios; and by that means progressively to re-identify the originating concept in terms of what is common and central to their shared anticipations. The resultant idea may turn out to be different from the original concept dreamed up in a research and development organisation like RBS. But it will have the strength of being founded in users' capacities to translate it into concrete operations. And, once made part of their currency, there is no limit to the extent to which such an idea can continue to be re-used in further and different actions.

An example is to be found in a programme to help college faculty members implement experience-based learning. The North Carolina Faculty Fellows Programme (reported at NIWL) involves the interactive use of an idea (experience-based learning) and a concrete, and - in this case - real, scenario for implementation. The programme involved sending 26 faculty members from 17 junior colleges into 10-day explorations of experience-based learning resources in the community, with a series of concept-based tasks to consider. The tasks included:

1. identifying under-used community resources for experience-based learning programmes;

2. if necessary, getting somebody in an organisation 'out there' to help in a 'brokering' role;

3. in consultation with resource, drawing up an experience-based programme; and

4. presenting it to the resource for their consideration of whether they should join the college's experience-based programme.

The programme takes a basic innovative idea and puts users into an exploratory but concrete relationship with that idea. It radically extends the scenario-building strategy, by directly utilising prospective sites in the community. The fusion of the use of concrete experiences with the use of an educational idea represents a considerable and promising extension for 'work experience for teachers' programmes currently used in Britain.

Ideas for Action: Action for Ideas

We are talking here about the relationship between ideas and action between knowing 'why?' and knowing 'how?'; between what - initially - can often only be stated in abstract terms, and what - sooner or later - is going to have to be stated and done in concrete terms; between theory and practice.

And, while the abstract world of concepts and theory may be claimed to be remote and irrelevant by people who like to think of themselves as pragmatists, the reality is that inside every celebrant of down-to-earth good old American (or whosever) 'know-how' there is a secret theoretician - often hiding! For it is in the nature of humanity to make theories. Everyone of us develops internal mental concepts of the world with which we take ourselves to be dealing.

We use those concepts, based upon what we take to be the evidence of our senses, to generate hunches and guesses about causes and effects in the world; so that the picture becomes a model - or theory - which we use to explain and predict events. We base our actions on those explanations and predictions. In that sense all action is experimental, based upon theories about how things will come out as a result of the actions. Theorising and experimentation are not the private property of scientists. We all do it; although we do not all invest it with the same rigour.

It is, moreover, convincingly arguable that professional people should theorise. We expect medical and engineering professionals to make a serious attempt to understand what it is they propose to tamper with. We have a right to expect of those who propose to tamper with the life chances of our rising generations that they make some kind of serious attempt to arrive at a basis for explaining and predicting what it is that they think that they are about.

It may seem odd to use Piaget to explain the thinking of adults - particularly of teachers: for teachers have, for decades, been using Piaget to explain the thinking of children. But Piaget's and his disciples' (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969) research on mental development from childhood to adolescence provides a frame for examining the

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issue. The critical phase in the story of that development occurs during adolescence when the mental repertoire of the developing person is radically expanded into adult breadth. Childlike thinking, which in Piaget's terms is characterised by the word 'concrete', is infused and accompanied in the maturing person with thinking which Piaget characterises with the term 'formal'.

- Concrete thinking is dominated by what people perceive, and the assembly of those perceptions into an ordered picture of the reality with which they take themselves to be dealing. The picture is, of course, changed from time to time; but it is changed selectively and in a way which sustains a sense of continuity as well as development. Sometimes the evidence of the senses is altered to fit the existing picture (Piaget calls this 'assimilation'); sometimes the picture is altered to fit new sensory evidence (Piaget calls this 'accommodation'). The resulting picture of the world, and the extent to which it corresponds with other people's pictures, is the basis upon which shared and co-operative experience becomes possible.
- Formal thinking is dominated by concepts. The person is now not satisfied with the picture, but seeks explanations and predictions beyond and behind it. The evidence of the senses, and the picture they yield, are re-used to make new knowledge; for example, by generating testable guesses and hunches about unseen causes and effects. The world is no longer bounded by the use of perceptions; it encompasses other possibilities which are bigger and more complete than the un-used evidence of the senses can, alone, encompass. The active use of perceptions leads to the construction of an inner world full of 'formal' ideas, models and theories - in a word, concepts. We base a great part of our action on our belief in those concepts. All action is - in that sense - experimental. We are all - in that sense - theoreticians.

Piaget's analysis suggests how we might put together into comprehensible sequence a number of the problems encountered, and actions

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undertaken, at NIWL and RBS.

The sequence is set out in Figure 8 (see page 73). It is an 'ideal' sequencing in the sense that it represents a conceptualisation. It is not therefore a specific or concrete script, but a concept from which a variety of new scripts may be visualised. (Perceptive readers will have noticed that, at this point, the message is becoming the medium!)

Towards the left of the diagram the process is concerned with making concepts practical, checking for recognisability, translating ideas into action, and seeking new actions. Towards the right of the diagram the process is concerned with translating action into ideas, getting articulation of concepts (by users as well as by consultants and trainers), discovering the extent to which people are basing their suggestions on common or different concepts, modifying them in response to experience, and unlocking further potential in the ideas.

If such a presentation of innovative practice has any validity, it is clear that NIWL are right to insist that such work must be allowed to take the time that is needed to explore the concept before implementation is approached. The figure sets out a style of innovation which has a sequence of initiatory, implementation and follow-up phases; developmental features which Fullan and Pomfret found, often enough, to be notable by their absence from accounts of innovatory programmes.

Indeed the figure is infinitely extendable - taking on future route references to full-scale implementation, evaluation and extension.

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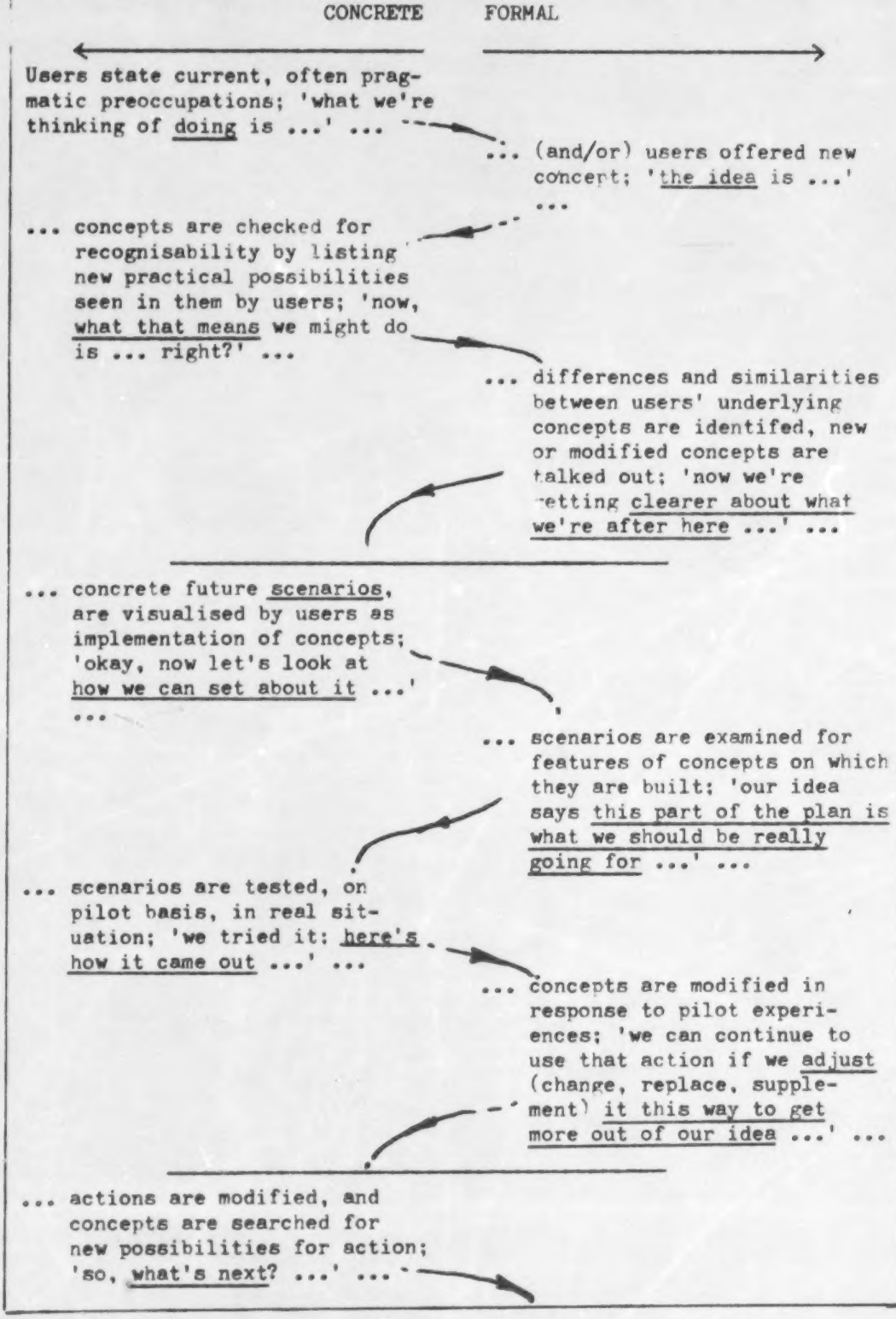
Figure 8

Exploratory Scenario-building Using the 'Concrete' and 'Formal' in Innovation


CONCRETE
FORMAL
Users state current, often pragmatic preoccupations; 'what we're thinking of doing is ...' ...
... (and/or) users offered new concept; 'the idea is ...' ...
... concepts are checked for recognisability by listing new practical possibilities seen in them by users; 'now, what that means we might do is ... right?' ...
... differences and similarities between users' underlying concepts are identifed, new or modified concepts are talked out; 'now we're getting clearer about what we're after here ...' ...
... concrete future scenarios, are visualised by users as implementation of concepts; 'okay, now let's look at how we can set about it ...' ...
... scenarios are examined for features of concepts on which they are built; 'our idea says this part of the plan is what we should be really going for ...' ...
... scenarios are tested, on pilot basis, in real situation; 'we tried it: here's how it came out ...' ...
... concepts are modified in response to pilot experiences; 'we can continue to use that action if we adjust (change, replace, supplement) it this way to get more out of our idea ...' ...
... actions are modified, and concepts are searched for new possibilities for action; 'so, what's next? ...' ...

Examples of operational questions developed from this conceptual discussion appear on pages 91-92.

DEVELOPMENT

You don't have to be much of a horticulturalist to know that what happens between dropping a seed into the soil (the beginning) and harvesting the crop (the end) is both important to productivity and interesting in its own right. Fullan and Pomfret's complaint about accounts of educational innovation is that a great deal of attention is paid to the beginning (adoption) phase and the end (evaluation) phase of educational innovation; but relatively little attention is paid to how the organism is helped to take root and thrive - the whole fascinating process of developing implementation.

The National Institute for Work and Learning, which is the outfit which is producing a handbook and state-of-the art report for education-work councils, has invested thought in what might be called the 'natural history' of an EWC. Early phases of EWC development are different from - and prepare the way for - more mature phases. NIWL sees EWCs as developing organisms.

Development in Content - and Process

It is envisaged at NIWL, for example, that an early stage in an EWC's life might be given to some kind of needs assessment enquiry; such as an enquiry into the problems of women already working and wishing to work. An activity like this helps the council to know what to do - it provides content for the council's agenda. But it also offers a process gain; for it provides a new council with a clear and manageable task upon which collaborative relationships may be built. NIWL is just as interested in the process task of establishing early collaborative relationships in the council, as in the content tasks of identifying items for later council action.

At a later stage, having carried out such an enquiry, the EWC may decide to develop a directory of opportunities and helping resources for women in the community. But that also has its process value - in establishing the credibility of the EWC as a community organisation. It manifests the EWC as producing what no other single organisation is able to produce; it is important at NIWL that it does so with a high degree of neutrality - so that it becomes identifiable as an agency to which any group in the

community may turn.

The process of establishing EWCs as collaborative, visible, and credible operations in the community is important at NIWL. Even unproductive activities are worth undertaking if they have good process outcomes. A common early suggestion is that the EWC organise a career convention (or careers fair). NIWL is not very enthusiastic about the payoff value of such events; but it can see important process value in running such an event - where it invites council members into collaborative relationships with each other, and where it achieves some visibility for the existence of the council in its community. NIWL place a higher payoff value on such projects as finding experience-based placements for high school students in the community - but they are also valuable for providing a collaborative and highly visible activity for the EWC.

The Division of Occupational and Vocational Studies at Pennsylvania State College takes a similar view of the importance of establishing credibility and visibility early in the life of Co-operative Education Programmes. Trainee co-ordinators are encouraged first to pilot schemes that they know can be seen to be successful; and then to make that success as visible as possible to as wide a range of audiences as possible at an early stage in programme development. It could be termed the 'build-from-early-and-visible-success' strategy.

With sufficient neutral credibility visibly established in the community, an EWC may turn its attention to canvassing for financial aid to support more ambitious projects. But, where it is successful in raising money, the distribution of that money to constituent organisations will be subject to considerable interested pressure. And, NIWL argues, it is probably unwise to get into such a politicised phase of operation until the credibility of the organisation is well established in community perceptions. As one member of NIWL observed, 'You can go for the money too early!'

At NIWL, then, there are at least three early process phases in the 'natural history' of a developing network such as an EWC:

1. Achieving collaboration
2. Achieving visible credibility
3. Deferring conflicts

And they are arguing that the phases should appear in that way. (British accounts of what actually happens in school-community liaison groups offer some parallels to this account - see Roberts and Law, 1982.)

Consensus and Conflict?

Interwoven with such thinking at NIWL is the notion of progressively achieved consensus in the council. The notion - it is claimed - has its roots in the thinking of Wirtz, who remarked that the consultative group which produced The Boundless Resource was initially in 'sharp and broad disagreement ... at first about almost everything'; but that 'consensus broadened at each meeting' becoming 'significantly larger as we moved from the discussion of general principles to a consideration of specific proposals'; and that 'the realisation that this was happening encouraged the effort'. So, argues Wirtz, the production of The Boundless Resource stands as a 'fair example of what the process it recommends can be expected to produce'. A feature of the credible neutrality of EWCs is now, therefore, conceived at NIWL in terms of the extent to which they can achieve consensus. Councils are thought of as consensus-building organisations. So where, for example, local employers resist the inclusion of labour union representation on the council, NIWL take the view that it is better to steer clear of the conflict. At the same time NIWL hopes that EWCs will become sufficiently strong at later stages to be able to handle any conflict involved in suggesting the inclusion of, say, labour union representation. But, it is argued, it is better to wait to be ready for that confrontation than to provoke it too early. The argument is exactly parallel with that of not 'going for the money' too early.

Such caution has its consequences. Deferring and avoiding conflict will restrict the variety of perspectives that are represented in discussion. NIWL acknowledges as much. Minority voices - particularly less articulate minority voices - may be silenced, may even withdraw; agreements may be superficial, untested by exposure to opposing voices; tyrannies of the articulate may develop. NIWL feel that some of the worst examples of such consequences are to be found in EWCs where commercial and industrial interests have hijacked the operation as a 'hurrah for business and the capitalist economy', marked more by the

cosmeticism of public-relations events (with presentations of gifts to participating members of EWCs) than by any concrete evidence of educational achievement. (Roberts and Law, 1982 also provide British examples of attempts at hijacking - from the right and the left of the socio-political spectrum.)

The conception of councils as conflict-deferring organisations is, arguably, a misunderstanding of Wirtz. He reported that conflict preceded consensus. The implication is that consensus is not achieved by deferment, but by working through conflicts at an early stage in development. Growth, after all, is a form of change: and change necessarily involves tension between the actual and the potential. Wirtz makes the point; 'Inevitable tensions will develop between such councils and institutions already in place. But productive tensions is probably an essential element in constructive change. Existing institutions become function-oriented; their original purposes get pushed back by the pressures of the regularities by which we maintain our daily existence. Productive tension must come in large measure from outside. One of the proper concerns here will be to see that councils do not become busy justifying themselves that this purpose of change is too timidly served.'

Consensus may take a number of different forms:

- The 'no-contest' form produces untested 'consensus' based on the unwillingness of some to pursue issues where they feel unsupported. Such would be a consensus more apparent than real; comprised of swamping and blocking by the articulate and powerful, and silent acquiescence by the rest.

- The 'standoff' form is a compromise; the achievement of some limited middle-position with which all participants can agree - slightly. 'Stand off' means 'I'll stop shooting at you if you'll stop shooting at me!' It is a modus vivendi rather than a consensus. Disagreements are not resolved, they are shelved.

- The '<u>resolution</u>' form comes with a shift of opinion by all or some of the participants to some shared position. It is what Wirtz describes in his account of the generation of The <u>Boundless Resource</u>. It involves being prepared to disagree for long enough to find out where the roots of disagreement lie.

- The '<u>ambiguity tolerant</u>' form is an agreement to disagree: an espousal of the value of having more than one way - and no single 'right' way - of looking at the situations and problems with which we are concerned: agreement that disagreement is a good thing. NIWL claim that some EWCs have achieved what might be called such a 'superordinate' consensus. In such councils conflict is perennial; and welcome!

Perhaps - as NIWL suggest - these four types of consensus may be regarded as states in the growth of collaboration. If that is so there is a serious danger of arrested development at the first two stages. And it is also clear that progress to the last two stages requires some risk-taking on the part of participants in the group. The cautious will think more than twice before embarking upon an initiative which will start the shooting - again!

<u>Boldness versus Caution</u>

Growth takes time; but - as every horticulturalist knows - it can be accelerated. Indeed the horticulturalist's skill resides in knowing just how boldly he or she should interfere with the natural maturation of events. Some horticulturalists are more cautious than others.

The survey (Law, 1979) of the guidance and counselling attitudes in British teachers suggests that they adopt different styles as well. A factor to emerge from a statistical analysis of their responses was concerned with the extent to which they saw themselves as actively intervening in the situations with which they were dealing. (These situations included both the lives of their clients and the functioning of the school in which they worked.)

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Some were bolder, some were more cautious. The items on the questionnaire which attracted the bold and repelled the cautious were items which referred to:

- decision-making responsibility;
- administrative responsibility;
- showing teachers how to be effective;
- acting as a source of information to teachers;
- mediating in the system;
- working to change the system;
- behaviour modification in students.

Agreement with these items cannot be described as habitual timidity.

- Interestingly the bold bear some resemblance to British political types first described by Eysenck (1954) as 'tough minded'. The bold or tough-minded may or may not be in support of the system or the establishment; but - either way - they are out for results, they want their tomorrow today; they are not in a mood to wait when a bit of leverage - whether subversive or authoritarian - might make a difference. Some, of course, are bolder about that than others! They are the stuff of which authoritarian systems, and the subversives who seek to radically reform them, are made. The extremely tough-minded are more likely - argues Eysenck - to be fascist than conservative, more likely to be communist than socialist.

- Other people are so habitually cautious that you would hardly know they were there at all. They would not seek decision-making responsibility, nor any other kind of 'clout' in the system. Things, they may argue, must be allowed to take their course. They bear some resemblance to the political types identified by Eysenck as 'tender-minded'. They may

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be for or against the system; but you would hardly notice it for they are going to appear to stay close to the middle ground on all issues. Some are, of course, less cautious than others: but, for the likes of the cautious, support of the system will be no stronger than paternalism; and independence of the system no stronger than permissiveness.

The habitual boldness and caution of participants in an operation - team and network members, managers and co-ordinators, trainers and consultants - is part of the chemistry of growth. In particular, any person who is prepared to accept overall responsibility in the growth of the operation - such as managers, co-ordinators, trainers or consultants - has some hard questions to ask him or herself concerning the impact of her or his habitual responses upon what is happening there. At the very least such a person should ask himself or herself whether the too great deceleration or acceleration in growth is the product of too much habitual caution or boldness in the way they handle their role in the group.

The question might come up in discussion and planning settings: sometimes - where, for example, minority voices are being silenced by some kind of tyranny of the articulate - co-ordinators might do better to intervene than to stand back. At other times - where, for example, the group looks as though it can handle its own conflicts and turn them into fruitful action - they might do better to stay out of the way.

It might come up in planning and implementation settings: any programme idea can be implemented in both bold and cautious forms. Where it is not possible to get an idea radically implemented, it is often possible to get something done informally (on the basis of limited partnerships in the operation), or on a pilot basis, or to set up a limited-term working group to develop the idea further - before fuller implementation is considered. Sometimes more cautious initiations provide surer foundations for bolder initiatives at a later stage. On the other hand, if nothing is holding you back, why

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wait?

What seems to be dangerous in both types of setting is for people to resolve such issues on the sole basis of their habitual way of resolving such issues.

Examples of operational questions developed from this discussion appear on pages 92-93.

APPLICATIONS

These have not been simple stories to be simply told: they raise issues. The issues have been identified by means of analysis: by recognising integrative features of certain British programmes; by linking to those features findings concerning innovation in schools; and by introducing research data and approaches to theory. Throughout, the issues highlighted have been about what drives such innovations, and what resists them.

The resulting model yields six sets of issues, from which tasks for such operations can be distilled.

A Parallel Analysis

The report of the Careers Guidance Integration Project (CGIP - Evans and Law, 1982) has produced a diagnostic inventory, of problems for readiness for integrative change, which shows some parallels with this six-fold analysis. The report - based on action-research work in 20 schools and colleges - asks why there is reluctance to move towards integration. It answers in the following terms:

- People need first to develop a clear and differentiated idea of what careers guidance is, before it can be integrated with anything else; they do not always have sufficient practical experience of what is involved in the ideas - either of careers guidance or of integration - to take them further.
- Insufficient resources of time, personnel, and materials are available to develop anything new.
- People feel personally insecure, so that the prospect of opening up conflicts - by challenging existing consensus - is unacceptable to them.
- Linkages across the boundary between the school as an organisation, and its community or neighbourhood, are insufficiently strong; the school is preoccupied with its curriculum.
- Linkages across the boundaries between departments within the school are insufficiently strong.

The CGIP's analysis is not identical to that used here; but the material is closely parallel to much of the material identified here

continued ...

... continued

as significant for the integration of programmes of preparation for adult and working life.

The forms of all such analysis are fairly arbitrary. Whatever analytical model is finally adopted will - in part - be validated by its capacity to portray recognisable descriptions of reality. But it can also be validated by its capacity to diagnostically explain how things are; and to indicate potentiality for future moves.

Diagnosis

A series of questions is set out below. They are designed to translate the discussions in this document into diagnostic bases for future moves.

ABOUT RATIONALES

- Do all participants know whose needs the programme has been set up to meet, and what those needs are?
- Is that rationale sufficiently broad that it will support action in pursuit of all the needs identified, and attract sufficiently diverse network support?
- Have those statements been made explicit - with their values unpacked - and set out for all to see?

ABOUT RESOURCES

- Are all kinds of keepers of resources aware of what the programme is actually delivering for participants, for institutions and for students?
- Are those keepers aware of what the programme is potentially capable of delivering?
- Is the programme getting the diversity of resources it needs?

ABOUT CO-ORDINATION

- Do participants know what contributions the operation needs of them?
- Are participants aware where the extent and limits of their influences on the operation lie - in relation to the contributions of others?

- Is coherent sense being made of how each contribution belongs to the whole?

ABOUT CROSS-FERTILISATION

- Do individual participants influence each other and the operation as a whole?
- Is the operation open to sectional influence from inside?
- Are participants open to influence from outside?

ABOUT IDEAS FOR ACTIONS

- Are ideas being translated into actions?
- Are the ideas underpinning actions being identified?
- Are the operation's actions accessible to, and usable by, students?

ABOUT GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

- Is there a basis of collaboration and credibility established in the operation?
- Is anyone making sure that the operation doesn't settle for easy consensus on the issues it faces - are conflicts being faced?
- Is there good reason to suppose that the operation is being developed sufficiently boldly or sufficiently cautiously?

The list of questions is not exhaustive. They are examples of the possibility of carrying out such a self-diagnostic enquiry. Many are questions which any operation should be capable of answering for itself. Some operations could answer all of them.

Answers to the questions could yield a profile for operations like those at South Brunswick High School, City-as-School, Olney High School and Oakland Education Work Council. A form for such a profile is set out in Figure 9. Where answers to the question above are mainly and strongly 'yes', then the plots on the profile may tend to come on the right of the profile; where they are mainly and strongly 'no', on the left.

Figure 9

A 'HOW ARE WE DOING' PROFILE FOR INTEGRATIVE PROGRAMMES OF PREPARATION FOR ADULT AND WORKING LIFE

How are we doing on ...

... rationales?	implicit	explicit
... resources?	narrow	diverse
... co-ordination?	ad hoc	systematic
... cross-fertilisation?	closed	open
... accessibility to students?	distant	proximate
... preparation and reflection by students?	low	high
... development?	sub-optimal	optimal

One use of the profile is to identify what might be called 'innovatory imbalances' - conditions in which achievement in some areas is not matched by achievement elsewhere. It would show on the profile by sharp swings between left and right. Such an imblance might - for example - be between rationales and resources. An obvious and common example is the case of the good argument chasing hard-to-find money; but the converse also happens - the teachers (mentioned on page 68) who did not know what to do with the 'Title One' money is a case of good money in pursuit of hard-to-find arguments! Even British readers may be able to think of one or two examples of such imbalance! An operation which is 'big' on action and 'small' on rationales or diversity of resources is - on this understanding - still in imbalance. How does it know it is a right kind of action? Other imbalances occur where an operation is closed against cross-fertilisation, but in which someone is boldly trying to push a radical and unwelcome plan. It could be a short route to a coronary - or paranoia! Something has to be done first about opening up the operation to cross-fertilisation; perhaps by starting up some basic but limited collaborations with one or two individuals who seem more open

than others. A report on the work of school-community links in Yorkshire, England (Roberts and Law, 1982) provides evidence that some kind of 'balancing of tasks' needs to be achieved in that kind of work; getting one of the group's task properly done allows progress on another of the tasks. There is, in particular, evidence to show that groups which do not face up to - and learn to deal with - their own conflicts, are groups which are more disposed to retreat into a 'talking shop' mode.

The 'How Are We Doing' profile is, by seeking 'innovatory imbalance', designed to identify a place where unblocking moves might next be taken.

Identifying Next Moves

The check list in Figure 10 is designed to elicit suggestions for what sort of moves they might be.

It is based on a rough-and-ready three-fold analysis of participation: 1. by team or network members; 2. by managers and co-ordinators, and 3. by trainers and consultants.

It is not complete. Indeed, one possible first use of it could be to invite participants in the programme to suggest further questions, and to re-write these questions so that they specifically apply to a particular operation.

Figure 10

A 'WHAT CAN I DO?' CHECK LIST FOR DEVELOPING INTEGRATIVE PROGRAMMES OF PREPARATION FOR ADULT AND WORKING LIFE

All of the items are predicated on the sentence stem 'What - if anything - should I do ...'

ABOUT MAKING RATIONALES EXPLICIT (See pages 28-37)

As Team or Network Members

... to find out whose needs this operation has been set up to meet?

... to find out what 'connections' it makes and what 'alternatives' it proposes?

continued ...

... continued

... to get my view of objectives for the operation expressed to partners?

... to make clear to others what my reasons are for being involved in the operation?

...

As Manager or Co-ordinator

... to clearly state the reasons why the operation has been set up and my own reasons for being involved in it?

... to find out what the needs really are that the operation is supposed to be meeting?

... to ensure that rationales take account of 'alternatives' as well as 'connections' - so that both kinds of commitment from participants can be welded into the operation?

... to ensure that all partners can actively voice the values they place on the operation and the doubts they have about it?

... to help partners see all their different 'connections' and 'alternatives' for the programme as integrated parts of the operation?

As Trainer or Consultant

... to help people voice their commitments to the operation?

... to help them voice their doubts and 'sez you' retorts?

... to help people unpack the values and doubts they have concerning the reasons for the operation?

... to make explicit my own reasons for being involved in the operation?

... to help people see all their different 'connections' and 'alternatives' for the programme as parts of 'one world'?

ABOUT GETTING RESOURCES BY SHOWING RESULTS (See pages 38-45)

As Team or Network Members

... to find out what results this operation can deliver?

... to find out how it suits me to collaborate with it?

continued ...

... continued

... to feed evidence of results back into the operation?

... to say where I (we) need additional resources?

...

As Manager or Co-ordinator

... to find out how the operation can help participants with their existing preoccupations?

... to point out where the operation has a payoff for its participants - as well as requests to make of them?

... to recruit more voluntary participation?

... to enquire into the actual outcomes of the operation?

... to be able to say what the operation is capable of delivering?

As Trainer or Consultant

... to show participants what results their efforts are capable of achieving?

... to help participants identify their results to date?

... to help participants examine options for picking up new resources - and develop plans to do so?

...

...

ABOUT THE CO-ORDINATION OF INFLUENCE (See pages 46-55)

As Team or Network Members

... to know what I can contribute to the operation - and what I can't?

... to let my partners in the operation know what I have to contribute?

... to find out where what I can do supplements and extends what others in the operation do?

... to find out where what they do supplements and extends what I do?

...

continued ...

... continued

As Manager or Co-ordinator

... to understand what participants can and cannot contribute to the operation?

... to know what is missing from the operation and where else it can be found?

... to make the contributions of each visible to the whole?

... to help people say what they can contribute, and what they can't?

... to understand the greater system of which the operation forms a part; where the system helps, where it hinders, and how it could be made to help more and hinder less?

As Trainer or Consultant

... to help people say what they can contribute, and what they can't?

... to help participants acquire new knowledge and skills for the operation?

...

...

...

ABOUT CROSS-FERTILISING THE DIVERSITY (See pages 56-65)

As Team or Network Members

... to use more of the insights, experiences and skills that I have to offer the operation?

... to see if I can't use more of my 'outside' experience inside the operation?

... to get my view of the operation heard?

... to get my part - section, department or faction - of the operation linked in direct discussion and collaboration with other parts?

... to achieve a role in this operation - rather than just allowing myself wholly to be assigned one?

continued ...

... continued

As Manager or Co-ordinator

... to use recruitment of new participants as a way to diversify rather than to consolidate what is already happening?

... to get minority and sectional views openly voiced in discussion and planning?

... to help participants to become visible as unique individuals - rather than as role occupants?

... to get participants to take account of what is happening outside the operation - particularly the alternative perspectives that could be brought in?

... to make it possible for people to express and work on their differences face-to-face and across the operation - without having to appeal to 'the top'?

As Trainer or Consultant

... to know how much - as yet - unreleased skill and energy there is in this group?

... to know how much readiness there is for new input?

... to know when to intervene with new input and when to get out of participant s' way?

...

...

ABOUT IDEAS FOR ACTIONS AND ACTION FOR IDEAS (See pages 66-74)

As Team or Network Members

... to be clear enough about the concepts underlying action, so that I can make suggestions concerning how those actions can be developed and extended?

... to test action to see whether it delivers what it is supposed to?

... to make action accessible to students?

... to make action usable by students?

... to pilot actions implementing new concepts, and to report back to the operation on the outcomes of the pilot?

continued ...

... continued

As Manager or Co-ordinator

... to get beyond offering lists of 'things to do' by making clear the concepts which support the action?

... to consult participants about how new concepts are to be implemented, so that they can influence action from their own experience?

... to make sure that participants can say both how and why they propose to go about their work?

... to make new concepts generate new suggestions for action?

...

As Trainer or Consultant

... to help participants to articulate and explore their concepts about the work?

... to help participants see where their concepts are similar and different from each other?

... to leave room after the introduction of each new concept for people to say how they can see its implementation taking place?

... to follow-up on pilot and initial implementation stages, to review progress and seek bases for modifying action?

...

ABOUT OPTIMISING DEVELOPMENT (See pages 75-82)

As Team or Network Members

... to get into early collaboration with partners?

... to contribute to the basic credibility of the operation?

... to stop allowing myself to be blocked or swamped by influential members of the team?

... to stop habitually blocking and swamping others?

... to risk, and if necessary go on risking, a minority voice in planning and development?

continued ...

... continued

As Manager or Co-ordinator

... to get participants in the operation collaborating, and to get it visibly and credibly established in the eyes of the community?

... to know about the effects of my own habitual boldness or caution in my work; to know when to shut up and allow growth to take its course, and when to intervene?

... to help myself and others to tolerate the risk and threat that conflict entails?

... to know which 'shelved' conflict to next take off the shelf?

... to know when to mediate or support minority views in the team - to make sure they are heard?

As Trainers or Consultants

... to know when to mediate or support minority views in the team - to make sure they are heard?

... to know about the effects of my own habitual boldness or caution are in my work?

... to know when to shut up and allow developments to take their course, and when to intervene with reinforcements, information or models?

...

...

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